THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

WITH
Translation and Explanatory Notes

BY
S.D. JOSHI
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J.A.F. ROODBERGEN

VOLUME XII
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Abbreviations of terms

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
abh(s)	*avyayībhāva(s)*
act.	active
aor.	aorist
ātm.	*ātmanepada*
Bh.	(Patañjali-)*Bhāṣya*
bv(s)	*bahuvrīhi(s)*
cp(s)	compound(s)
dat.	dative
Dhp.	*Dhātupāṭha*
du.	dual
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperative
impf.	imperfect
instr.	instrumental
kdh(s)	*karmadhāraya(s)*
loc.	locative
nom.	nominative
ntr.	neuter
P.	*Pāṇinisūtra*
par.	*parasmaipada*
pbh(s)	*paribhāṣā(s)*
pf.	perfect
pl.	plural
sg.	singular
tp(s)	*tatpuruṣa(s)*
voc.	vocative
Vt (s)	*Vārttika(s)*

Introduction

P. 7.3: Survey of the *pāda*

A. The *pāda* division

As stated in *AP* IV, p. 1, under 2, the division of the text of the A. into *pādas* is rather arbitrary, but generally agrees with breaks in the topics dealt with. According to the *KV*, *pāda* 7.2 ends with P. 7.2.118. The discussion in the *Mbh.* ends with P. 7.2.117. This is also the end of the second *āhnika* in *pāda* 7.2. Hereafter the *Mbh.* continues with P. 7.3.1. We have stated earlier (*AP* XI, Introduction, p. xi) that the last two rules of P. 7.2. (P. 7.2.117 and 118) can be considered to form a transition to P. 7.3, because these two rules deal with *vṛddhi* replacements in *taddhita* formations. This is, in fact, the topic of P. 7.3.1-31. So why haven't P. 7.2.117 and 118 been taken with P. 7.3? We have no answer to that question. The only thing we know is that already in Patañjali's days the *pāda* division as we have it today was known.

B. The main topic

The main topic is *aṅga* again, continued from P. 6.4. For details see *AP* IX, Introduction, p. ix. This topic is dealt with by means of rules mainly of two types. They are substitution rules which form the great majority, and augment rules.

C. The organization of P. 7.3

The main factor deciding rule order is *anuvṛtti*. Apart from that, P. 7.3, like the previous *pādas*, shows an ordering of topics in sections, which at first sight appears to be arbitrary. Sections (indicated by number) are based on a common *vidheya* or *kārya*. Further divisions like sub-sections and sub-sub-sections can be introduced as based on increasingly detailed specifications of the *vidheya* involving varying conditions or *nimittas*. The *anuvṛtti* of the *nimittas* need not coincide with a particular section. The *nimitta* may overlap the division into sections.

We mention the following sections:

(1) P. 7.3.1-31 deal with *vṛddhi* replacements in *taddhita* formations. The conditions *taddhiteṣu* (from P. 7.2.117) *ñṇiti* (from P. 7.2.115) and *kiti* (from P. 7.2.118) are continued. P. 7.3.4-9 are prohibitions. Here the

KV does not show the full *anuvṛtti*, but confines itself to saying *yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati* 'what has been stated, that is not (to be) applied.' In the translation, however, we have shown the full *anuvṛtti*.

(2) P. 7.3.32-43 deal with substitutions and augments in causative verbal bases on different conditions for each rule. P. 7.3.32 discontinues all items due to *anuvṛtti* from P. 7.2.117 onwards and comes in direct continuation of P. 7.2.116. We note that the *vṛddhi* rules P. 7.3.34 and 35 come in between the augment rule P. 7.3.33 and the further augment rules P. 7.3.36-40. The reason for this order may lie in the desired continuation of the condition *ciṇkṛtoḥ*.

(3) P. 7.3.44- 49 deal with substitutions in nominal bases conditioned by the fem. suffix *āP*.

(4) P. 7.3.50-51 deal with the substitution of *ika* and *ka* for the *taddhita* suffix *tha*

(5) P. 7.3.52-69 deal with the substitution of a velar for consonants in final or initial position of a verbal base before specified suffixes. Here P. 7.3.63-64 and 68-69 are *nipātana* rules.

(6) P. 7.3.70-71 deal with the substitution of the final vowel of the verbal bases called *ghu* and of verbal bases ending in *-o*.

(7) P. 7.3.72-73 deal with the deletion of the final vowel of the aor. suffix *Ksa*, and of the deletion of this suffix as a whole on a different condition for either rule.

(8) P. 7.3.74 deals with the substitution of a long vowel for the verbal base vowel in connection with *śam-*, etc., conditioned by the *vikaraṇa ŚyaN*.

(9) P. 7.3.75-81 deal with (non-*guṇa*) substitutions taking place in or of a verbal base conditioned by a *Śit vikaraṇa*.

(10) P. 7.3.82-83 deal with *guṇa* substitutions of the verbal base vowel in the case of specified verbal bases conditioned by a *Śit vikaraṇa* or by the impf. ending *Jus*.

(11) P. 7.3.84-91 deal with *guṇa* substitutions of the verbal base vowel conditioned by a following *sārvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka* suffix.

(12) P. 7.3.92-100 deal with augments in connection with *sārvadhātuka* suffixes, on varying conditions for each rule. P. 7.3.97 deals with *chandas*.

(13) P. 7.3.101 deals with the substitution of long *ā* for *a* in final position of a verbal stem conditioned by a following *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a *yaÑ* sound

(14) P. 7.3.102 deals with the substitution of long *ā* for *a* in final position of a nominal base conditioned by case endings beginning with a *yaÑ* sound.

(15) P. 7.3.103-106 deals with the substitution of *e* for the vowel in final position of a nominal base before varying case endings.
(16) P. 7.3.107 deals with the substitution of a short vowel for long *ā* of a fem. suffix in the case of words signifying *ambā* and of fem. stems called *nadī,* in the sg. voc. (*saṃbuddhau*).
(17) P. 7.3.108-111 deal with the substitution of *guṇa* for a short vowel in final position of a nominal stem, on a different condition for each rule. The condition *saṃbuddhau* is continued in P. 7.3.108.
(18) P. 7.3.112-115 deal with augments for particular case endings, introduced on different conditions for each rule.
(19) P. 7.3.116-118 deal with substitutions for the *i* of sg. loc. case ending mainly in the case of stems called *nadī.*
(20) P. 7.3.119 deals with the substitution for the *i* of the sg. loc. in the case of stems called *ghi.*
(21) P. 7.3.120 deals with the substitution of *nā* for the sg. instr. case ending of non-fem *ghi* stems.

As can be seen from the break-up into sections of P. 7.3, this *pāda* shows an intricate pattern of organisation. The order of the topics which may seem haphazard is often dictated by the *anuvṛtti* of the conditions. This is shown convincingly in the case of (13) and (14).

D. A synopsis of grammatical argument in the discussion of individual rules.

P. 7.3.1. In his *bhāṣya* on *Vt.* V on this rule Patañjali says that the mention of *kevala* in P. 7.3.5 provides a clue. The clue assumed is that *taddhita* rules in the *aṅgādhikāra* are applicable to words specified in the rules and to cps beginning with these words. It follows that *PN, pbh.* 29, does not hold good in the *aṅgā-dhikāra* when *taddhita* formations are prescribed. The clue is referred to in the *KV* on P. 7.3.8.

P. 7.3.3 has been split in an (a) rule and a (b) rule, because the original rule constains two *vidheyas,* and because of the position of the particle *tu,* which, like *ca,* should come immediately after the first word of a rule. The (a) rule deals with cp. formation, and states a prohibition of *vṛddhi* for the first among vowels of an *aṅga* on specified conditions. The (b) rule prescribes the insertion of *aiC* vowels in a particular position, and is to be applied conjointly with the (a) rule. All rules from P. 7.3.3 till P. 7.3.9, inclusive, deal with prohibitions of *vṛddhi.*

P. 7.3.4. In connection with the example *svar* 'sky' the *KV* quotes a statement which says *avyayānāṃ bhamātre tilopaḥ* 'of *avyayas* deletion of the *ṭi*-portion takes place before any (suffix which causes the designation) *bha*.' The source of the statement is not known.

P. 7.3.10 is an *adhikāra*. It merely mentions a word to be continued in the fol-lowing rules.up to P. 7.3.31, inclusive. It does not prescribe independently. From P. 7.3.11-31, inclusive, *vṛddhi* is prescribed again.

P. 7.3.11. Here, to justify cp. formation, the *KV* brings in the question of the *tadantavidhi*. The application of the *tadantavidhi* here is prohibited by *Vt*. III on P. 1.1.72 and by *PN*, *pbh*. 31. To remove this difficulty, the *KV* refers to *Vt*. XVIII on P. 1.1.72. Thereby the application of P. 7.3.11 to the cp. formation in question is justified.

P. 7.3.14 contains the words *prācām* which is explained by the *KV* as *prācāṃ deśe* 'in the country of the easterners.' Reference is to villages (*grāma*) and towns (*nagara*) in this country. One example for *grāma* is *pūrvaiṣukāśama* 'originating from East Īṣukāmaśamî.' One example for *nagara* is *pūrvapāṭaliputraka* 'originating from East Pāṭaliputra.' The question raised by the *KV* is, why have *grāma* and *nagara* been mentioned separately, whereas in P. 4.2.109 and 117 and in daily usage no distinction is made between the two? The argument goes back to Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on P. 7.3.14. The anwer given by the *KV* is that the distinction has been made to show that in the case of *grāmas* the *dikśabda* like *pūrva* is itself part of the name of the village, whereas in the case of *nagaras* the *uttarapada* only is the name of the town, the *dikṁabda* being added merely for indicating a part of the town concerned. In other words, in the *grāmavācin* words the *aṅga* coincides with the name, whereas in the *nagaravācin* words it does not. This involves a difficulty in the construction of the words *aṅgasya* and *uttarapadasya* which are both continued in P. 7.3.14. In the interpretation of the *KV angasya* goes with *grāma* and *uttarapadasya* with *nagara*. But since *grāma-nagara* is a *dvandva* cp., this difference in construction of the *dvandva* con-stituents is not allowed. We have, therefore, rejected the interpretation adopted by the *KV*, and assumed that the *aṅga* intended by P. 7.3.14 is formed by the *pūrvapada* and the *uttarapada* together. As for the reason why the *KV* interprets the rule as stated, we assume that this is done to justify a later usage regarding the names of villages and towns. "Later" here means later than the *sūtrakāra* and later than Patañjali to whom *grāma* includes *nagara*.

There is a textual problem also in the Benares ed. of the *KV* on P. 7.3.14 p. 19, lines 1-3. Here the Hyderabad ed. makes a slight emendation of the text,

whereas the Haryana Bahālagaḍh ed. of Vijayapāla emends the text more drastically.

A note is added regarding the *prakriyā* of the forms concerned. Here traditionally *PN, pbh.* 53, is invoked to justify the prevalence of P. 7.3.21 over P. 6.1.87. It is shown that the difficulty envisaged results from the adoption of the *krameṇa anvākhyāna* view advocated by Kātyāyana. The difficulty does not arise in the *padasaṃskāra* view.

P. 7.3.15. According to *Vt.* II, the statement of the redundancy of the word *saṃvatsara* in the rule by *Vt.* I provides a clue, namely, that a prohibition of *vṛddhi* applies to words signifying *kālaparimāṇa* 'a measure/stretch of time.' Patañjali mentions two interpretations of the clue.

P. 7.3.22. To justify forms like *saumendra* 'one who has Soma and Indra as hist deities' the *KV* assumes that the rule provides a clue. The clue says that, although *bahiraṅga*, an operation applicable to a *pūrvapada* or *uttarapada* of a cp. is to be applied first, and that single substitution is applied only afterwards. The argument is based on the adoption of the *krameṇa anvākhyāna* derivational procedure. The difficulty pointed out by the clue does not arise in the *padasaṃskāra* view.

P. 7.3.24. It is noted that the concept of *pūjārtha* applied to the A. in connection with grammarians mentioned by name in a *sūtra* is known to Patañjali. However, the idea of optionality of the *sūtra* concerned is not stated in the *Mbh.*

P. 7.3.25-30 have been split each time in an (a) and a (b) rule, because the original rule contains two *vidheyas*, and because of the position of the particle *tu*, which, like *ca*, should come immediately after the first word of a rule. The (b) rule says *pūrvasya tu vā* '(a *vṛddhi* vowel comes) preferably in place of' the first (among vowels of the *pūrvapada*).' In any case, the (a) and the (b) rules are to be conjointly applied.

P. 7.3.30. The *KV* in its commentary on the undivided rule, which deals with *nañsamāsa*, mentions the opinion of grammarians labeled as *kecid* and *apare*. According to the *kecid* grammarians, P. 7.3.30 is an *aprāptā vibhāṣā* by which the requirements of the *aṅgādhikāra* are incidentally suspended. According to the *apare* grammarians, P. 7.3.30 is a *prāptā vibhāṣā*. To our opinion, there is no good reason to suspend the requirements of the *aṅgādhikāra*. Instead, we propose to extend a statement mentioned by Patañjali at the end of his *bhāṣya* on P. 2.2.6. The statement indicates that *nañsamasa* prevails over *taddhita* formation with *tva* or *taL* which are

bhāvapratyayas. This statement should be extended to cover formations with other *taddhita* suffixes prescribed in the sense of *bhāva*, like *aÑ* or *ṢyaÑ*, also.

P. 5.1.121, which deals with *nañsamāsa* in the case of *taddhita* formations in the sense of *bhāva*, poses a difficulty in connection with the *aṅga* rule P. 7.2.30 (b). Here we find further confirmation of our view that the *taddhita* section is a later addition to the text of the A.

P. 7.2.34 contains the word *udātta-upadeśasya* qualifying *māntasya* 'of (a verbal base) ending in *m*.' As explained by the *KV*, the significance of the mention of *udāttopadeśasya* lies in this that what counts in the *prakriyā* of the form concerned is the accentuation mentioned in the *upadeśa*, that is, the *Dhp*., never mind the *satiśiṣṭa* rule (*Vt*. IX on P. 6.1.158).

The *KV* criticizes the usage *sūryaviśrāmā bhūmiḥ* 'the earth is the resting place of the sun god,' and maintains that here *viśrāmā* is incorrectly derived.

P. 7.3.44 deals with the substitution of short *i* for short *a* before *k* of a *taddhita* suffix used in nominal and pronominal stem formations before the fem. suffix *āP*. on the proviso that *āP* should not come after a case ending (*asupaḥ*). One of the examples is the pronominal fem. pl. form *etikās* derived from *etad* + *akaC* by P. 5.3.71.

A question is raised by the *KV* regarding the derivation of the word *kārikā*. The difficulty here is that in the sequence *kāraka* + *ṬāP* the fem. suffix does not follow immediately after *k*, as required by the statement of the word *āpi* in the rule. We cannot solve this difficulty by applying *ekādeśa* first, resulting in *kārakā*, and then applying the *i*-substitution. The reason is that here the *sthānivadbhāva* rule P. 1.1.57 comes into play which restores the original sequence. This difficulty is solved by assuming that, since otherwise P. 7.3.44 would be redundant, the intervention of a single sound caused by the application of the *sthānivadbhāva* rule is acceptable.

Then the question is raised whether this convention also holds good when there is intervention by more than one phoneme. In answer, reference is made to the maxim *yena nāvyavadhānaṃ tena vyavahite 'pi vacanaprāmāṇyāt* 'by which phoneme (or phonemes) there is an unavoidable separation (in the sequence of phonemes required for a grammatical operation, then the grammatical operation still takes place) never mind the intervention, on the authority of the rule (stated).' But there is one more point. It is demonstrated with the help of the example *rathakaṭyā* 'a multitude of chariots,' derived from *ratha* + *kaṭyaC* + *ṬāP*. Here the *k* and the

ā of *ṬāP* are intervened by three phonemes.We note that here the *i*-substitution prescribed by P. 7.3.44 has not been applied, in spite of the maxim just quoted. Why not? The difference with *kārikā* in which the *i*-substitution has been applied is that in *rathakaṭyā* the intervention by more than one phoneme is based on what we hear. Therefore the *sthānivadbhāva* rule which allows intervention by one sound only is not applied.

Why the condition *asupaḥ* in the rule? It is taken as a negation of the *prasajyapratiṣedha* type in the sense of *subantāt paro na* 'not after a word ending in a case ending.' The point made is that the fem. suffix indicated as *āP* should not come after a case ending added after a cp. as a whole, or after a cp. constituent. This is shown with the help of the counterexample *bv.* cp. *bahuparivrājakā* 'containing many wandering monks,' said of Mathurā. Here, since *ṬāP* comes immediately after the internal case ending *Jas* of the cp. constituent *parivrajaka*, we do not derive the form **parivrajikā*.

P. 7.3.45 states a prohibition of the *i*-substitution of *a* before *k* in connection with the fem. pronominal formations *yakā* '(that) whichever' and *sakā* 'that whichever' Both are *akAC* derivations by P. 5.3.71. Here the *i*-substitution of short *a* before *k* is prohibited. The fem. formations in °*akā* seem to have been popular, witness the fact that there are ten *Vts* on P. 7.3.45.

P. 7.3.46-48 continue the prohibition from P. 7.3.45 for different specified words. Moreover, the *KV* continues the word *udīcām* from P. 7.3.46, and therefore regards these rules as optional. Each time, in each case two sets of examples are provided, one showing a form ending in °*akā*, the other a form ending in °*ikā*. We have taken *udīcām* to refer to a regional variation of spoken Sanskrit, namely, of the Easterners. It does not imply optionality. The rule holds good precisely for the dialect mentioned. Accordingly, we regard the forms ending in °*akā* only as the correct examples showing the usage of the northerners.

P. 7.3.47. We have discontinued *udīcām* form P. 7.3.46, because *ca*, which is required for the continuation of *udīcām*, is lacking in the present rule.

The rule contains the words *nañpurvāṇām api* 'in place of (the forms mentioned) even when preceded by *naÑ*.' Tradition already regards this phrase as redundant.

P. 7.3.48 contains the term *abhāṣitapuṃska* 'not having a corresponding masc. form.' The examples quoted for this rule by the *KV* fall into two main groups,

(a) *taddhita kaN*-derivations in the sense of 'small' by P. 5.3.85, and (B) *nañsamasa* cps. In group (B) we have to introduce a distinction between *tp.* cps and *bv.* cps. formed with the suffix *kaP* by P. 5.4.154. In the latter case P. 1.2.48 applies for shortening of the fem. suffix, because in a *bv.* cp. the constituents are *upasarjana* 'subordinate.' By way of example *prakriyās* are provided for *khaṭvakā* 'a small bed' (*khaṭvā* being an *abhāṣitapuṃska* word), the *nañtp* cp *akhaṭvakā* 'not a small bed,' and the *nañbv akhaṭvakā* 'a woman not having a small bed' for the *kaN*-derivations, and *akhatvakā* 'a woman not having a bed' for the *nañbv. kaP* formation.

An Excursus is added on suffixes in Sanskrit grammar in general and on the terms *svārthika* and *abhāṣitapuṃska*. As regards the term *svārthika*, our conclusion is that this term is applied in later grammatical tradition to those suffixes to which a meaning is ascribed which functions as a qualifier of the stem meaning and thereby brings out an aspect of meaning which is thought to inhere in the stem meaning. In still later grammatical tradition the term *atyantasvārthika* is found to refer to those suffixes which do not involve any change in the stem meaning.

In connection with the term *abhāṣitapuṃska* it is pointed out that the *nañbv.* cp. *akhaṭva* 'not having a bed' is *bhāṣitapuṃska*. It may be used to qualify a masc., fem. or ntr. word. Once we decide that it qualifies a fem. word, we must add the fem. suffix *ṬāP*. That gives us *akhaṭvā*. Here we may add the *taddhita* suffix *kaN* resulting in the meaning 'a woman having a small bed.' Or we may add the *samāsānta svārthika* suffix *kaP*, resulting in the meaning 'a woman having a bed.' The final form is *akhatvakā* in both cases.

P. 7.3.49 continues to deal with *abhāṣitapuṃska* words. It refers to the opinion of unspecified grammarians and says that the *i*-substitution is not applied in the case of *abhāṣitapuṃska* words. Thereby all forms ending in °*ikā* are dismissed.

To facilitate understanding the rules P. 7.3.44-49, a recapitulation of the argument is added.

P. 7.3.50 prescribes the substitution of *ika* for *ṭha* of a suffix which causes the designation *aṅga* for the stem to which it is added. The question raised by the *KV* is whether *ṭhaK*, etc., represent a suffixal element consisting of a single phoneme, namely, *ṭh*, to which *a* is added for ease of pronunciation, or a suffix consisting of *th* + *a*. We will refer to the first option as A, and to the second option as B. The technical term used for B is *saṃghāta* 'aggregate.' The discussion centres mainly on B. One difficulty mentioned here is the derivation of the word *māthitika* 'one who sells butter.' Following a tricky interpretation of the word *pūrvavidhau*

in the *sthānivadbhāva* rule P. 1.1.57, the *KV* tries to justify the form in B. Thereby B, the *saṃghāta*-view, is finally accepted for *ṭha*, although the argument is unconvincing. Little attention is paid to A. The *KV* is obviously biased in favour of B.

It is noted that P. 7.3.50-51 form a unit totally unconnected with the preceding or following rules.

P. 7.3.53 is a *nipātana gaṇasūtra*. Here generally a *ku*-sound has been substituted for the verbal base final. One of the words listed is *takram* 'buttermilk,' derived as an *uṇādi*-derivation from the verbal base *tañc*- 'to shrink' (*Dhp*. 7.22, *tañcU*-). Another word included is *nyagrodha* 'Ficus indica.'

P. 7.3.54, which deals with the *ku*-substitution for the *h* of *han*- 'to kill,' is conditioned in two ways, by a following *Kit*, *Ñit* or *Ṇit* suffix, and by *n* following immediately after the *h*. The *KV* points out that in the latter case there can be no question of a stem-suffix relation, but of mere immediate sequence of sounds after the intermediate *a* of the verbal base has been deleted. Here again, like in the case of *kārikā* under P. 7.3.44, the question of the application of the *sthānivadbhāva* rule P. 1.1.57 is raised which would destroy the required immediate sequence of *h* and *n* That difficulty is solved by assuming that, since otherwise P. 7.3.54 would be redundant, P. 1.1.57 is overruled. Reference is made again to the maxim *yena nāvavadhānaṃ tena vyavahite 'pi vacanaprāmāṇyāt*. See under P. 7.3.44.

P. 7.3.56. A note on the rule application order in the case of verb forms, especially reduplicated forms, is added. The general principle is that word-building rules, that is, reduplication rules and augment rules, take precedence. From the example *jijyatus* quoted for **P. 7.3.57** it is clear that *saṃprasāraṇa* rules prevail over reduplication rules, because they are environment changing rules. They prevail by the *siddha*-principle. Reduplication rules are only applied after the verbal base has assumed its final form.

P. 7.3.67 prohibits *kutva* in connection with *vac*- 'to speak' on the condition *aśabdasaṃjñāyām* 'except when the meaning of *śabdasaṃjnā* 'a technical term referring to a unit of speech' is conveyed.' Here the *KV* quotes the counterexample *avaghuṣitam vākyam āha* 'he spoke a sentence in which his intention has been disclosed.'

P. 7.3.71 reads *otaḥ śyani* '(deletion) of final *o*) of a verbal base, if *ŚyaN* follows immediately.' *Vt*. II on the rule says, we better read *otaḥ śiti* '(deletion) etc., if a suffix marked with *Ś* follows immediately.' The idea is that in this way we

can do away with *śiti* in P. 7.3.75, and have it there by *maṇḍūkapluti* from the rephrased rule P. 7.3.71. For the questionable device of *maṇḍūkapluti* see *AP* X, P. 7.1.70, under 3. The *Vārttikakāra's* idea shows also his relatively free attitude regarding the phrasing of Pāṇini's *sūtras* as compared to that of later commentators.

P. 7.3.73 prescribes preferable *luk*-deletion of the *lUṄ-vikaraṇa Ksa*. The deletion is conditioned by the term *dantye* 'if (an *ātm*, ending beginning with) a dental follows immediately.' One example is *adugdha* 'he milked.' But why have *luk*, since we can manage by *lopa* (of the *a* of *Ksa*) continued from P. 7.3.72? After the *a* has been deleted, we can delete the *s* by P. 8.2.26. Against this, it is pointed out that the deleted *a* will be *sthānivat* by P. 1.1.57. The result is that we cannot apply P. 8.2.26. The objection is refuted by appealing to the maxim *pūrvatrāsiddhe na sthānivat 'sthānivadbhāva* is not applied in the *pūrvatrāsiddha* section.' Therefore P. 8.2.26 can be applied. So we can manage by continuing *lopa* from P. 7.3.72.

But then, why has *luk* been stated in P. 7.3.73? According to the *KV*, this is to justify the application of P. 7.3.73 in the case of forms ending in °*vāhi* of the first person du. The point is that after the deletion of *a* (in the *lopa*-version of P. 7.3.73) we cannot apply P. 8.2.26 to a form ending in *vāhi*, because the *v* is not a *jhaL* sound. Therefore, to justify the form *aduhvāhi*, the statement of *luk* is needed for the deletion of *sa* as a whole.

But then, how to tally that with the condition *dantye*? This is done by assuming that *v* is *dantyoṣṭha* 'labiodental.' Since it shows features of both labial and dental sounds, it may be termed *dantya* also.

P. 7.3.76 prescribes the substitution of a long vowel for the vowel of *kram-* 'to move forward' before a *Śit vikaraṇa*, provided that a *par*. ending follows. A difficulty is raised in connection with the derivation of the imp. 2nd sg. *utkrāma*. Here the imp. ending *hi* is *luk*-deleted by P. 6.4.101. That gives us *ut* + *kram* + *a* where *a* represents the *vikaraṇa ŚaP*. Since *hi* is *luk*-deleted, P. 1.1.63 prohibits any operation based on the suffix deleted. Therefore we cannot apply the lengthening desired. Against this, the *KV* points out that the objection is based on a wrong conception of what constitutes the *aṅga* in *utkrama*. The *aṅga* here is *utkram* in relation to *ŚaP*, not in relation to *hi*. Therefore lengthening can be applied. As stated above, P. 1.1.63 will prohibit that application of P. 7.3.76 only which concerns the *aṅga utkram* + *a*.

P. 7.3.77 prescribes the substitution of *ch* for the final of specified verbal bases, among them *iṣU-* 'to desire.' The substitution is conditioned by a *vikaraṇa*

marked with *Ś*. The reading *iṣU* poses a difficulty, because the *Vārttikakāra* and Patañjali read *iṣA*. The *KV* explains that *iṣU* is read to make clear that reference is to the class VI verbal base *is-*, and not to the class IV or class IX base *iṣ-*. The reading *isU*, therefore, provides evidence of a change in the text of a rule in the period between Parañjali and the authors of the *KV* It is noted that the reading *iṣU* was already known to Candragomin.

The *KV* explains that those who accept the reading *iṣA* also continue the word *aci* 'if a vowel follows immediately' from P. 7.3.72. That creates a problem, because now P. 7.3.72 contains two locative conditions, *aci* and *śiti*. Here *śiti* is assumed to qualify *aci* in the sense of 'if a vowel follows immediately which is marked by *Ś*. This condition is met by the class VI *vikaraṇa* *V̄a*. This is how the reading *iṣA* is interpreted to refer to the class VI base *iṣ-*.

But then, why has *ch* not been applied in the *par.* 2nd sg. imp. form *iṣāṇa*? This form is derived from the class IX base *iṣ-*. The suffix added is *ŚānaC* which replaces *Śnā*. The ending *hi* is deleted by P. 6.4.105. Then, since in *ŚānaC* we have a *Śit vikaraṇa* in which a vowel follows immediately after the verbal base *aṅga*, why not apply P. 7.3.77 for the *ch*-substitution? The answer stated by the *KV* is that in *ŚānaC* we don't have just a vowel marked with *Ś*. What we have here is a whole suffix marked with *Ś*. Therefore P. 7.3.77 is not applied in *iṣāṇa*.

P. 7.3.83 prescribes *guṇa*-substitution for the final *iK* vowel of a verbal base before the suffix *Jus*. This suffix is *Ṅit* by P. 1.2.4. Therefore *guṇa* is prohibited by P. 1.1.5. To still have *guṇa*, a special rule is required. That rule is P. 7.3.83.

The question is raised, why isn't *guṇa* applied in *lIṄ* formations like *cinuyus* 'let them pile up'? In answer, the *KV* explains that we have two types of *Ṅittva*. One is dependent on the suffix, i.e., *Jus*, being a *sārvadhātuka* suffix. The other is dependent on the addition of the augment *yāsuṬ* to the suffix. The first type invariably applies. Therefore P. 1.1.5 will always prohibit *guṇa*. This prohibition is set aside by P. 7.3.83. The second type is not set aside by P. 7.3.83. Thus P. 1.1.5 remains in force. That is how we derive forms like *cinuyus*. Thus, in order to establish the non-application of *guṇa* in *cinuyus*, etc. tradition assumes that Pāṇini has restricted *Ṅittva* to *yāsUṬ* forms. To our opinion, the grammatical reason why *guṇa* is not applied in *vidhiliṇ* forms is that here *Jus* does not follow immediately after the *iganta* verbal base, because *yās* intervenes.

P. 7.3.85 prescribes *guṇa*-substitution in connection with the verbal base *jāgr-* 'to wake up' before a *sārva-* or *ārdhadhātuka* suffix on a condition phrased as

aviciṇṇalṅitsu 'with the exclusion of (the *uṅādi* suffix) *vi*, *CiṆ*, *ṆaL* or a suffix marked with *Ṅ*.' *Prakriyās* of the examples *jāgarayati* 'he causes to wake up' *jāgaraka* 'one who wakes up,' *sādhujāgarin* 'one who habitually wakes up well,' *jāgarita* 'one who has woken up,' *ajāgāri* 'it was woken up' (impersonal pass.) and *jajāgāra* 'he has woken up' have been provided.

Why has *guṇa* also been applied in the impf. 3rd pl. *ajāgaruḥ* 'they woke up' and in the pf. 1st sg. *jajāgara* 'I have woken up' in spite of the fact that the endings *Jus* (which is *Ṅit* by P. 1.2.4), and *ṆaL* are covered by the condition *aviciṇṇalṅitsu*? The answer is that in *ajāgarus* and *jajāgara guṇa* is not applied by the present rule, but by P. 7.3.83 and 84 respectively. Then what about the condition *aviciṇṇalṅitsu* in P. 7.3.85? To answer that question, the *KV*, following *Vt*. VIII on the rule, says that *aviciṇṇalṅitsu* is to be interpreted as a *paryudāsa*. It tells us that, when the question is of applying *guṇa* in connection with *jāgr*- by P. 7.3.85, exclusion is to be made of *vi*, *CiṆ*, *ṆaL* and *Ṅit* suffixes. But this does not prohibit *guṇa* before these suffixes applicable by any other rule.

P. 7.3.86 prescribes *guṇa*-substitution in connection with *puganta* bases and bases which have a prosodically short vowel. The term *pugantalaghûpadha* is interpreted as a *dvandva* formed of two *bv*. cps. One of the examples for the latter category is *bhettā* 'he will break.' Here we have a difficulty referred to in a *Ślokavārttika*. It is pointed out that in the sequence *bhid* + *tṛC* the verbal base vowel is prosodically long. Then how to apply *guṇa*? In answer, the *KV* says that the immediate sequence of the final consonant of an *aṅga* and the initial consonant of a suffix does not affect the *laghutva* of the verbal base vowel. What we have to take into account when adding a suffix to an *aṅga* is whether the *aṅga* is *laghūpadha* or not. That is all. To support this view, a clue is presented.

In the *bhāṣya* on the rule Patañjali quotes and briefly comments on three *Ślokavārttikas*. The *Ślokavts* form a complex whole of objections and answers in which the term *vidhyapekṣa* plays an important role. For the discussion we refer to the main text and the summary provided there.

P. 7.3.87 prohibits *guṇa* of the prefinal vowel of a reduplicated verbal base if followed by a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a vowel and marked with *P*. One example is the first person sg. imp. *nenijāni* 'let me clean.' It is noted that, according to Whitney, the forms quoted as examples for the rule are intensives.

The question of intensive (*yaṅluk*) formation crops up again in the exanples mentioned in *Vt*. I on the rule. One of these examples is the 3rd person du.

subjunctive *paspaśāte* 'that the two of them might see repeatedly.' Apparently, the form is derived from a verbal base *spāś-*, which, however, is non-existent. The available base is *spaś-* where the question of shortening of the verbal base vowel does not arise. But the example could make sense, if the intention was to show shortening of the vowel of the reduplication. In the case of *yaṅluk* formations lengthening of the reduplication vowel is by P. 7.4.85.

It is noted that the great difference between the language of the Vedas and classical Sanskrit is in respect of mood formations. This is reflected in the A. which outside the present system offers no derivational procedure for mood formations.

P. 7.3.88 prohibits *guṇa* of the final vowel of *bhū-* 'to become' and *sū-* 'to give birth,' if a *tiṄ* suffix follows immediately which is *Pit*. One example is *abhūvam* 'I became'. The counterexample is *bhavati*. Here the finite verb ending *ti*, which is *sārvadhātuka* and *Pit*, does not came after *bhū-* immediately, because the *vikaraṇa* *ŚaP* intervenes.

Why no prohibition of *guṇa* in the intensive form *bobhavīti* 'he becomes again and again'? The *KV* says, this is so because of a clue. The clue is offered by the Vedic *nipātana* form *bobhūtu* 'let him become again and again' in P. 7.4.65.

P. 7.3.89 prescribes *vṛddhi* of the final vowel of a verbal base ending in short *u*, if a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant and marked with *P* follows immediately and if *luk*-deletion of a *vikaraṇa* takes place. One example is *yauti* 'he connects.'

Why no *vṛddhi* in the usage *api stuyād rājānam* '(I expect) he might be able to praise a king'? Here the opt. ending *yāt* as a whole is *Ṅit* by P. 3.4.103. The express mention of *ṅic ca* for *yāsUṬ* in this rule is interpreted to offer a clue, namely, that endings which come as substitutes for *Ṅit lakāras* are not *Ṅit*. Therefore here *sthānivadbhāva* is not accepted. Then why no *vṛddhi*? The *KV* says that *vṛddhi* is not applied because we have the statement *ṅic ca pin na bhavati* 'and what is *Ṅit* is not *Pit* (and conversely).' It follows that *yāt* is *Ṅit*, and therefore, *Pittva* of the finite verb ending is set aside. That is why *vṛddhi* is prohibited by P. 1.1.5.

P. 7.3.91 prescribes *guṇa* of the final short vowel of *ūrṇu-* 'to cover,' if a *Pit sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant and consisting of a single phoneme follows immediately. One example is *praurṇot* 'he covered.'

In the rule the condition *hali* is continued from P. 7.3.89. Literally, *hali* means 'if a consonant follows immediately.' Then why does P. 7.3.91 say *apṛkte* 'if (...) consisting of a single phoneme (follows immediately)'? That can only be purposeful on the assumption that it is meant to offer a clue. The clue is found in the *tadādividhi* as phrased by *Vt.* XXIX on P. 1.1.72. Thus *hali* is interpreted to mean *halādau* 'if (...) beginning with a consonant follows immediately.' That, however, would include a *Pit sārvadhātuka* suffix like *ti*, which consists of more than one phoneme. To prevent that, *apṛkte* has been mentioned in the rule.

P. 7.3.92 prescribes the augment *iM* to be inserted after *tṛh-* 'to crush,' if a *Pit sārvadhātuka* suffix follows immediately which begins with a consonant. The *M* of *iM* is an *it*-letter. the atctual augment is *i*. Two examples are *tṛṇeḍhi* 'he crushes' and *atṛṇeṭ* 'he crushed.'

The *KV* points out that, although the *im*-operation is *varṅāśraya* 'dependent on a speech sound' because of the condition *hali*, the application of the *pratyayalakṣaṇa* rule (P. 1.1.62) is desired to derive the form *atṛṇeṭ* in which the following suffix (*ti* reduced to *t*) is deleted by P. 6.1.68. The argument is as follows. We have two types of *varṇāśraya* operations, one being a *sandhi* operation conditioned by a speechsound pure and simple and prescribed in the *saṃhitā*-section. In the other type the speechsound forms part of a suffix. In this case, the operation has been prescribed in the *aṅgādhikāra*. An example is P. 7.3.92. Here the question is whether we can still insert the augment *iM* after the *halādi sārvadhātuka* suffix has been deleted. The answer is, yes. This is what happens in *atṛṇeṭ*.

P. 7.3.95 reads *tu-ru-stu-śamy-am-aḥ sārvadhātuke*. Here the loc. term *sārvadhātuke* is interpreted as a gen., because the rule contains both a word in the abl. (*tu...am-aḥ*) and a loc. word. In such a case *PN*, *pbh*. 70, becomes applicable. It tells us that the word used in the abl. has a greater force than the word in the loc. What this amounts to is that the loc. word is interpreted in the sense of a gen. That is to say, *sārvadhātuke* is interpreted to mean *sārvadhātukasya*. This is how we arrive at the translation "(the augment *iṬ*) is... added to a *sārvadhātuka* (suffix)."

It is noted that for the present rule we have a reading ascribed to Âpiśali. The rule here reads *tu-ru-stu-śamy-am-aḥ sārvadhātukāsu chandasi*. Thereby P. 7.3.95 appears to be the rephrasing of an earlier Vedic rule. In fact, the example *śamīdhvam* 'you (pl.) be calm' quoted for *śami-* is attested in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*.

P. 7.3.101 prescribes the substitution of a long vowel for *a* in final position of a verbal base *aṅga* before a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a *yaÑ* sound.

follows immediately. One example is *pacāmi* 'I cook.'

The *KV* notes that, according to some grammarians, the word *tiṅi* from P. 7.3.88 is to be continued in P. 7.3.101 by way of *maṇḍūkapluti*. Thereby the condition *sārvadhātuke* in the present rule is discontinued. In this way, lengthening by P. 7.3.101 becomes restricted to a verbal base *aṅga* before a *tiṄ* suffix. The example quoted for the rephrased rule is the Vedic form *bhavavān* 'one who has become.' The difficulty arises in the derivational stage *bhav* + *a* + (*K*) *vas*(*U*). Here P. 7.3.103 becomes applicable for lengthening. This is not desired. Once *tiṅi* is read instead of *sārvadhātuke*, P. 7.3.101 cannot become applicable, so there is no difficulty. However, if the rule says *sārvadhātuke*, a way has to be found to stop the application of P. 7.3.101 in *bhavavān*. One way to do so is by invoking the maxim *dṛṣṭānuvidhiḥ chandasi* 'when dealing with a Vedic form, (first) see (the form to be derived, and then) apply the rule accordingly.'

P. 7.3.103 prescribes the substitution of *e* for *a* in final position of a nominal base *aṅga* vefore a pl. suffix beginning with a *jhaL* sound. Two examples are *vṛkṣebhyaḥ* 'for/from the trees' and *vṛkṣeṣu* 'in the trees.'

Why not apply P. 7.3.102 in these examples? The traditional answer is that in case of a conflict the later rule prevails. In our case that is P. 7.3.103. Since we have rejected the *paravipratiṣedha*-principle, we will have recourse to the *utsarga-apavāda-nyāya*. In relation to P. 7.3.102 the present rule is an *apavāda*, because it contains the special condition *bahuvacane*. Therefore P. 7.3.103 prevails.

P. 7.3.105 prescribes the substitution of *e* for the fem. suffix *āP* in final position of a nominal base *aṅga* before the instr. case ending *āṄ*. One example is *khaṭvayā* 'by means of a bed.'

Why is the rule not applied in *atikhaṭvena* (*brāhmaṇena*) 'by (a brahmin) who has violated the nuptial bed' ? The answer is, because of the statement *nyāb-grahaṇe 'dīrghaḥ* 'when mention is of (the fem. suffixes) *Ṅī* or *āP*, a (resulting) non-long vowel (is not to be treated as *sthānivat*).' Reference is to *Vt*. XX on P. 1.1.56. In *atikhaṭva* the original final *ā* of *khaṭvā* has been replaced by short *a* by P. 1.2.48. According to the *Vt*. just quoted, the substitute vowel short *a* is not treated like the original *ā*. Therefore P. 7.3.105 is not applicable. The same argument is repeated in connection with P. 7.3.113.

P. 7.3.115 prescribes marginally the augment *syāṬ* for a *Ṅit* case ending after *dvitīyā* and *tṛtīyā* ending in the fem. suffix *āP*. Thus we have *dvitīyāyai/*

dvitīyasyai for the fem. sg. dative, and *dvitīyāyāḥ/dvitīyasyāḥ* for the fem. sg. genitive.

The *Nyāsa* commentary makes mention of a divergence of opinion regarding *Vt*. III on P. 1.1.36. The *Vt*. means to say that words formed with the suffix *tīya* are optionally called *sarvanāman* before *Ṅit* case endings. According to some grammarians, this implies that we can do away with P. 7.3.115 and manage by the *Vt*. Other grammarians come to just the opposite conclusion : we can do away with the *Vt*. and manage by P. 7.3.115. This is done by continuing the word *sarvanāman* from P. 7.3.114 (a) in P. 7.3.115 and by discontinuing the word *syāṬ* from P. 7.3.114 (a).

P. 7.3.116 prescribes the substitute *ām* for the loc. case ending *Ṅi* added after the word called *nadī*, after words ending in the fem. suffix *āP*, and after *nī* 'leader.' Some examples are *kumāryām* 'regarding a young girl,' *khaṭvāyām* 'on the bed' and *rājanyām* 'regarding a leader of kings.' The *prakriyā* of *rājanyām* is provided. It is noted that *grāmaṇī* is a *nipātana* by P. 5.2.76.

The *Vārttikakāra* in *Vt*. I on the rule raises a question about P. 7.3.117 and 118. It is assumed that these rules were originally one rule, read as *idudbhyām aut*. Here *auT* cancels the *vidheya ām* from P. 7.3.116. That creates a problem in deriving forms like *śakaṭyām* 'on a cart' and *dhenvām* 'regarding a cow,' which show a sg. loc. in *ām* also. The solution of the difficulty, according to *Vt*. II, is to split the rule. First we have P. 7.3.117 read as *idudbhyām*. Then comes a combination of the present rules P. 7.3.118 and 119, read as *auc ac ca gheḥ*.

Against the *Vārttikakāra* it is argued that his proposal of splitting the original rule *idudbhyām aut* is not necessary. A different solution, involving. dividing 7.3.116 into an (a) and a (b) rule, is put forward. An Excursus on the division of the rules in the section P. 7.3.116-119 is added under P. 7.3.117.

P. 7.3.119 says that (in addition to the substitution of *au* for *Ṅi* of the sg. loc.) also *aT* (short *a*) is substituted for short *i* or *u* in final position of the stems called *ghi*. Examples are *agnau* 'in the fire' and *dhenau* 'regarding a cow.'

There are seven *Vārttikas* on the rule engaging in a convoluted argument regarding splitting the rule and the role of the particle *ca* in the rule. In essence, two solutions are proposed. One is to split the rule, the other is to read P. 7.3.118 and 119 as one rule, namely, *aud ac ca gheḥ*. For details of the argument we refer to the main text.

AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ

7.3.1 DEVIKĀ-ŚIṂŚAPĀ-DITYAVĀḌ-DĪRGHASATTRA-ŚREYASĀM ĀT 'long *ā* (comes) in place of (the first among vowels of the nominal base *aṅgas*) *devikā* 'name of a river,' *śiṃśapā* 'the Dalbergia Sissoo tree,' *dityavāh* 'a two-year old head of cattle,' *dīrghasattra* 'a long-lasting Soma sacrifice' and *śreyas* 'best,' (if *taddhita* suffixes marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* prescribing the substitution of long *ā* for the first vowel of a *taddhita* stem, on the condition stated. For the meaning attributed to *dityavāh* see under 3, below.

2. The *uddeśya* is *devikā...śreyasām* (*aṅgānām acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *devikā...śreyasām* qualifies *aṅgānām*. The word *aṅgānām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ*. We recall that *aṅgasya* in P. 6.4.1 was a technical gen. The words *acām ādeḥ* are continued from P. 7.2.117. *Acām* is a *nirdhāraṇaṣaṣṭhī*. *Acah* is continued from P. 7.2.115. It is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. *Ñṇiti kiti* are continued from P. 7.2.115 and 118. *Taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.117. The *vidheya* is *āT*. It does not discontinue *vṛddhiḥ* from P. 7.2.114. It merely specifies. *ĀT* is a *vṛddhi* vowel.

For the deep meaning of the word *vṛddhiprasaṅge* 'when there is a possibility of *vṛddhi*' inserted by the *KV* see under 5. below (*Vt*. V).

3. The *KV* explains the *taddhita* derivation *dāvika* with the help of examples. They are *dāvikam udakam* derived in the sense of *devikāyāṃ bhavam udakam* 'a water stream originating in/from the Devikā river' (*aṆ*, P. 4.3.53) and *dāvikākūlāḥ śālayaḥ* derived in the sense of *devikākūle bhavāḥ śālayaḥ* 'grain growing on the bank of the Devikā,' borrowed from Patañjali.

According to the *Nyāsa*, P. 7.3.1 is applicable for the *vṛddhi āT* substitution only when *devikā* occurs as the first member of a cp. It is not allowed when *devikā* occurs as the final cp. member. That is shown by the example *saudevika* 'belonging to the good Devikā river' (P. 4.3.120). The example is taken from Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on *Vt*. IV on P. 7.3.1. In the example *aṆ* is added by P. 4.3.53.

The (traditional) *prakriyā* of *dāvika* is as follows:

(1)	(*devikā* + *Ṅi*) + *aṆ*	P. 4.3.53
(2)	(*devikā* + °) + *a*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*dāvikā* + *a*	P. 7.3.1
(4)	*dāvik°* + *a*	P. 6.4.148
	dāvika.	

In the traditional view of *taddhita* derivation the suffix is added to a case-inflected word. For a different view in which the *taddhita* suffix is directly added to the non-inflected stem see S.D. Joshi's 2001 article "Syntactic and Semantic Devices in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini.*"

The *KV* notes that *dāvika* is also used at the end of a cp. The example is *pūrvadāvika*, derived in the sense of originating in Pūrvadevikā, the name of a village of the Easterners. Here P. 7.3.1 does not apply, but *vṛddhi* is applied to the *uttarapada* o by P. 7.3.14, and that *vṛddhi* also takes the form of long *ā*.

For *śiṃśapā* the *KV* quotes the example *śāṃśapaś camasaḥ*, derived in the sense of *śiṃśapāyā vikāraś camanaḥ* 'a sacrificial cup made of Śiṃśapā wood' The word *śiṃśapā* is mentioned in the *palāśādi-gaṇa*, no. 3, under P. 4.3.141. This rule prescribes the *taddhita* suffixs *aÑ* in the sense of *vikāra* (P. 4.3.114) as the preferred option, with *ādyudātta* (P. 6.1.197). If *aÑ* is not used, we may apply *aṆ* by P. 4.3.134. In that case the resulting accent will be *antodātta* by P. 3.1.3.

For *dityavāṭ* the *KV* quotes the example *dātyauham*, derived in the sense of *dityauha idam* 'this belongs to a two year old head of cattle.' The *prakriyā* is as follows:

(1)	(*dityavāh* + *Ṅas*) + *aṆ*	P. 4.3.120
(2)	(*dityavāh* + °) + *a*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*dityaūh* + *a*	P. 6.4.132; 6.1.108
(4)	*dityauh* + *a*	P. 6.1.89
(5)	*dātyauh* + *a*	P. 7.3.1
	dātyauha.	

According to Agrawala [2]1963, a calf of two years was called *dityavāh* 'carrying a *ditya*.' What *ditya* means is not clear, may be a wooden club hanging from the neck of a calf, mentioned by Agrawala just before the *dityavāh* passage.

For *dīrghasattra* the *KV* quotes the example *dārghasattra*, derived in the sense of *dīrghasattre bhavam* 'originating in a long-lasting Soma sacrifice.' The *taddhita* rule applied is P. 4.3.53 (*aṆ*).

For *śreyas* the *KV* quotes the example *śrāyasam* , derived in the sense of *śreyasi bhavan* 'originating in/from the best.' The *taddhita* rule applied is again P. 4.3.53.

4. The *KV* then quotes *Vt*. VI on the rule, for which see below. The discussion is about the form *vaihīnari* 'a descendant of Vahīnara.' The *KV*, following Patañjali, notes that, according some grammarians (*kecid*), the original stem form is *vihīnara*, with *i* in the first syllable. In that case, the *Vt*. is not required.

5. We have six *Vts* on the rule. *Vt*. I explicitly refers to P. 7.3.1 by saying *devikādiṣu*. It says that in P. 7.3.1 mention of the word *tadādi* 'beginning with those (words *devikā*, etc.)' should be made. The reason for adding *tadādi* will become clear from *Vt*. II.

Vt. II explains the difficulty noted by *Vt*. I. The *Vt*. says that elsewhere (in the *aṅga*-section) where mention is of *devikā*, etc., or of (a cp). ending in those words (P. 7.3.1 is applicable). By the words "or of (a cp.) ending in those words" the *Vt*. refers to *PN*, *pbh*. 29. This *pbh*. tells us that , since the rule has been put in the *aṅga*-section, P. 7.3.1. is applicable not only to the word *devikā*, etc., themselves, but also to a cp. ending in *devikā*, etc. That would give us the undesired form **sudāvikam*, instead of *saudevikam*, as stated above. To prevent that, the word *tadādi* is needed in the word. It limits the application of P. 7.3.1 to cps in which *devikā* occurs as the first member. So we have a difficulty in justifying forms like *saudevika* mentioned under 3, above.

Vt. III says that we can manage by taking *devikā*, etc. as the qualifier of *ādyac* 'the first vowel,' namely, of an *aṅga*. *Ādyac* refers to *acām ādeḥ* from P. 7.2.117, continued in P. 7.1.3. In that case, the rule would mean *devikādīnām aṅgasya ādeḥ acaḥ* (*sthāne*) *āT* 'long *ā* comes in place of the first vowel of the *devikā*, etc., when forming part of an *aṅga*.' In this way, we can avoid the difficulty in interpreting the rule as *devikādyantānām aṅgānām* '(in place of the first vowel) of *aṅgas* ending in *devikā*, etc.

Vt. IV proposes an alternative. It says: or because (the present rule which mentions *āT* as the *vṛddhi* substitute) removes (the condition of) being the nearest one. Reference is to P. 1.1.50, which says that when there is a choice between more

than one substitute, the *antaratama* '(phonologically) nearest ' substitute (of the *sthānin*) should be selected. In the case of the *e* of *devikā* the regular, *antaratama vṛddhi* is *ai*. However, P.7.3.1 prescribes *ā* as the *vṛddhi* substitute. This *ā* is not *antaratama* of *e*. All P. 7.3.1 does is remove the *antaratama* condition laid down by P. 1.1.50 in the case of *devikā*, etc. The rest remains as it is. *Vṛddhi* remains applicable to the first among vowels of the *taddhita* formation as prescribed by P. 7.2.117. Accordingly, we have no difficulty in deriving the form *saudevika*.

Vt. V states another reason for accepting the alternative. It refers to P. 7.3.5, where mention is made of *kevalam* in connection with the word *nyagrodha* 'Ficus Indica.' This rule prohibits a *vṛddhi* substitute for the first vowel of *nyagrodha* when occurring by itself as the stem of a *taddhita* derivation, and not as a cp. member. It also prescribes the insertion of *ai* before the *y* of *nyagrodha*. Thus we derive the form *naiyagrodha* 'made from the *nyagrodha* tree.' Here the *taddhita* suffix *aṆ* is used by P. 4.3.134. Compare P. 4.3.5, under 4. But when *nyagrodha* is used as a cp. member, the prohibition of *vṛddhi* for the first vowel does not hold good, and we derive, for instance, *nyāgrodhamūlāḥ śālayaḥ* 'grain originating from the roots of *nyagrodha* trees.'

The word *nyagrodha* is derived in two stages as follows:

A. (1)	((*ni* + *sU*) + *añcU-*))	+ *KviN*	P. 2.2.18; 3.2.59
(2)	((*ni* + °) + *añc*))	+ *vi*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*nyañc*	+ *vi*	P. 6.1.77
(4)	*nya°c*	+ *vi*	P. 6.4.24
(5)	*nyac*	+ °	P. 6.1.67
	nyac.		

B. (1)	(*nyac* + *am* + *ruh-*)	+ *aṆ*	P. 3.2.1; *nyacam* is an adverb
(2)	(*nyac* + ° + *roh*)	+ *a*	P. 2.4.71; 7.3.86
(3)	*nyagrodh*	+ *a*	P. 7.3.53; 8.2.30; 8.4.53
	nyagrodha.		

Hereafter the cp. *nyagrodhamūla* is formed by P. 2.2.8. From the cp. a *taddhita* form is derived with the help of the suffix *aṆ* by P. 4.3.53 in the sense of *bhava*. The resulting form is *nyagrodhamūla* by P. 6.4.148 and P. 7.3.5.

According to Patañjali, the mention of *kevala* in P. 7.3.5 provides a clue. The idea is that its mention is not required. P. 7.3.5 could have read *nyagrodhasya* only. That statement suffices to make us understand that the insertion of *aiC* prescribed

by P. 7.2.3 concerns the word *nyagrodha* by itself. The construction is *nyagrodhasya* (*aṅgasya*). In the cp. form *nyagrodhamūla nyagrodha* is not the *aṅga*. So here P. 7.3.5 cannot become applicable. As a result, the mention of *kevala* becomes *vyartha* 'meaningless.' This being so, it can only be made *arthavat* 'meaningful' on the assumption that it offers us a clue. Which clue? The clue assumed is that *taddhita* rules in the *aṅgādhikāra* are applicable to words specified in the rules and to cps beginning with these words (*tadādi*). The implication is that *PN*, *pbh*. 29, does not hold good in the *aṅgādhikāra*, when *taddhita* formations are prescribed. The maxim which does hold good can be formulated as *aṅgādhikāre taddhitavidhayas tasya tadādeś ca bhavanti* 'in the *aṅga*-section the *taddhita* rules apply to a given word and to that which begins with that (word).' Therefore P. 7.3.1 is applicable in *dāvikakula*, but not in *saudevika*. This is the deep meaning of the word *vṛddhiprasaṅge* in the text of the *KV*. The domain where *vṛddhi* is applicable with regard to *taddhitas* has been stated by P. 7.2.117 as *ādyac* 'the first vowel.' Thus P. 7.3.1 becomes applicable to the *e* of *devikā* as an independent word or as the first member of a cp.

As stated under 4. above, *Vt*. VI deals with the *taddhita* form *vaihīnari* 'a descendent of Vahīnara. Patañjali informs us that, according to *Kuṇaravāḍava*, the *Vt*. is not required because the original name is not Vahīnara, but Vihīnara. Accordingly, we can derive the form *vaihīnari* by P. 7.2.117. Kuṇaravāḍava was mentioned earlier in the *bhāṣya* on P. 3.2.14 (*Mbh*. II, p. 100, line 8). About this grammarian nothing is further known.

7.3.2 KEKAYA-MITRAYU-PRALAYĀNĀṂ YĀDER IYAḤ "*iy* (comes) in place of the portion beginning with *y* of (the nominal base *aṅgas*) *kekaya* (name of a person), *mitrayu* 'a friendly person' and *pralaya* 'the destruction of the world at the end of a *kalpa*,' (if *taddhita* suffixes marked with Ñ, Ṇ *or* K follow immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* prescribing the substitution of *iy* for the portion beginning with *y* of three specified words, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgānām*) *kekayamitrayupralayānāṃ yādeḥ* (*ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *aṅgānām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *yādeḥ*. *Yādi* is a *bv*. cp. referring to a particular portion of the *aṅgas* mentioned. *Yādeḥ* is a technical genitive by P. 1.1.49. It discontinues *acām ādeḥ acaḥ* from P. 7.2.117 and 115. *Ñṇiti kiti* is continued from P. 7.2.115 and 118. *Taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.117. The *vidheya* is *iyaḥ*. It discontinues *āT* from P. 7.3.1.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *kaikeyaḥ* 'a descendant of Kekaya' (*aÑ*, by P. 4.1.168), *maitreyikayā ślāghate* 'he boasts of belonging to the Maitreya clan' (*vuÑ*, P. 5.1.134), and *prāleyam udakam* 'water which has come because of *pralaya*.'

The *KV* notes that the word *gotra* in P. 5.1.34 is used in a *laukika* 'non-technical' sense of descendant, not in the sense prescribed by P. 4.1.162-164 of a third generation descendant. The *Nyāsa* explains that in daily usage the name of an *ṛṣi* is used as the clan name. See further *AP* VIII, p. 95-96.

The *prakriyā* of *kaikeya* is as follows:

(1) (*kekaya* + *Ṅas*)	+ *aÑ*	P. 4.1.168
(2) (*kekaya* + °)	+ *a*	P. 2.4.71
(3) *kaikaya*	+ *a*	P. 7.2.117
(4) *kaikaiy*°	+ *a*	P. 7.3.2
(5) *kaikey*	+ *a*	P. 6.1.78
kaikeya.		

The *prakriyā* of *maitreyikā* proposed by the *KV* is as follows:

(1) *mitrayu*	+ *vuÑ*	P. 5.1.134
(2) *mitrayu*	+ *aka*	P. 7.1.1
(3) *maitrayu*	+ *aka*	P. 7.2.117
(4) *maitraiy*	+ *aka*	P. 7.3.1
(5) *maitrey*	+ *aka*	P. 6.1.78
(6) *maitrey*	+ *aka* + *ṬāP*	P. 4.1.4
(7) *maitrey*	+ *ika* + *ā*	P. 7.3.44
(8) *maitrey*	+ *ikā*	P. 6.1.101
maitreyikā.		

Actually, *maitreya* is a *nipātana* mentioned as such in P. 6.4.174. See *AP* IX, P. 6.4.174, under 3 (8), where *maitreya* is stated as a *ḍhaÑ* derivation (P. 4.1.136).

4. Two questions arise, (1) why has *mitrayu* been mentioned in P. 7.3.2. after *maitreya* has already been mentioned as a *nipātana* in P. 6.4.174?, and (2) why does the *KV* quote *maitreyikā* as an example, when *maitreya* would suffice? The questions are closely linked. By way of answer the following considerations are offered. Since the mention of *mitrayu* in P. 7.3.2 is not required to derive the *taddhita* form *maitreya*, the authors of the *KV* were compelled to think of another example for *mitrayu*, namely, one which cannot be justified by P. 6.4.174. To find such an

example, they referred to P. 5.1.134. In order to justify the application of this rule, *maitreya* must be a *gotravācin* word. But here *gotra* cannot be taken in its technical sense of a third generation descendant, as defined by P. 4.1.162. That is why the *KV* says that *gotra* in P. 5.1.134 is to be taken in its non-technical, *laukika* sense of a descendant in general. Descendant of whom? Descendant of Mitrayu. The *Nyāsa* explains that the word *mitrayu* denotes an *ṛṣi*, the founding father of the clan named *maitreya* after him, and that therefore the suffix *vuÑ* can be added.

It is instructive to have a look at Candragomin and see how he handles the example *maitreya*. The rule corresponding to P. 7.3.2 is C. 6.1.13 (*Cāndra-vyākaraṇa of Candragomin*. Part II. Poona 1961, p. 270). It is identical with P. 7.3.2. The example *maitreya* is derived by adding the suffix *aṆ* (in the sense of *apatya*) to *mitrayu*. Candragomin does not specify by which rule that suffix is added. He has no difficulty in deriving the form *maitreya* in this way, because in his *nipātana* rule C. 5.4.178, which corresponds with P. 6.4.174, the word *maitreya* has been omitted.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.3 (a) NA YVĀBHYĀṂ PADĀNTĀBHYĀM *'vṛddhi* (does) not (come) in place of a vowel which is the first among vowels of a nominal base *aṅga* when preceded by *y* or *v* as *pada*-finals, (provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately)'

1. The rule translated here is not P. 7.3.3 in its traditional wording. We propose to split the rule as follows:

P. 7.3.3 (a) *na yvābhyāṃ padāntābhyām*

P. 7.3.3 (b) *pūrvau tu tābhyām aiC*

We have two reasons for doing so. The first is that P. 7.3.3 contains two *vidheyas*, one imparting the character of a *pratiṣedha* to the (a) rule, the other imparting the character of a *vidhisūtra* to the (b) rule. The second is that the particle *tu* functions as a boundary marker, very much like *ca*. See *AP* VIII, p. 156-157. The condition *ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* is common to both the (a) and the (b) rules. Both rules are to be applied conjointly.

2. P. 7.3.3 (a) is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*. It prohibits *vṛddhi* for the first vowel among vowels of an *aṅga*, whose first vowel is immediately preceded by *y* or *v* as

pada finals, on the condition stated. From the qualification *padāntābhyām.* it is clear that the present rule deals with cp. formations whose first member ends in *y* or *v*. In fact, from the examples it is clear that the first member is an *upasarga* or *nipāta*, like *vi* or *su*, which in the *prakriyā* is treated as a *pada*. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*) *yvābhyāṃ padāntābhyām*. The word *aṅgasya* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ*. The words *acām ādeḥ* are continued from P. 7.2.117. *Ñṇiti kiti* is continued from P. 7.2.115 and 118. *Taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.117. *Yvābhyām* is a (du.) technical abl. in the sense defined by P. 1.1.67 (*yvābhyāṃ padāntābhyām uttarasya acaḥ kāryaṃ bhavati*). It is qualified by *padāntābhyām*. Together *yvābhyāṃ padāntābhyām* discontinues *kekaya...pralayānām* from P. 7.3.2. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*) *na*. *Vṛddhiḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.114, after its interruption by P. 7.3.1 and 2. It discontinues *iy* from P. 7.3.2 on the basis of *sāmarthya*.

3. Whereras P. 7.3.1 deals with a specific instance of *vṛddhi* and P. 7.2.2 with the incidental substitute *iy*, the rules P. 7.3.3-9 state prohibitions of *vṛddhi*. From P. 7.3.10-31 *vṛddhi is* prescribed again. Thus the latter two sections are organized in such a way that the exceptions precede the affirmative rules.

4. For the examples and further observations see under P. 7.3.3. (b).

P. 7.3.3 (b) PŪRVAU TU TĀBHYĀM AIC 'but before these two *ai*C (is inserted)'

1. For the division of the rule and the function of *tu* see P. 7.3.3 (a), under 1.

2. P. 7.3.3 (b) is a *vidhisūtra* prescribing the insertion of the vowels called *ai*C in a particular position to be applied conjointly with P. 7.3.3.(a).

3. The *uddeśya* is *tābhyām* (*yvābhyāṃ padāntābhyām*). Here *tābhyām* is used anaphorically. It refers back to *yvābhyām*. The *vidheya* is *pūrvau ai*C. *Ai*C is the *pratyāhāra* for *ai* and *au* with which *pūrvau* stands in syntactic agreement. That is to say, *ai* and *au* are inserted as augments before *y* and *v* respectively (P. 1.3.10), occurring at the end of a *pada*.

4. In every rule following after the *adhikārasūtra* P. 7.3.10 the whole of P. 7.3.3 (a) and (b) is continued. From this we understand that the *uttarapadavṛddhi* prescribed in this section is not to be applied to the first vowel of the *uttarapada*, when preceded by *y* or *v* forming part of the *uttarapada*. The import of this way

of understanding will become clear in connection with the cps *pūrvatraiyalinda* and *dvyāśītika* quoted under 8, below.

5. The examples quoted by the *KV* for the undivided rule are *vaiyasanam*, derived in the sense of *vyasane bhavam* 'what originates in disaster;' *vaiyākaraṇaḥ*, derived in the sense of *vyākaraṇam adhīte* 'he studies grammar,' and *sauvaśvaḥ*, derived in the sense of *svaṁvasya apatyam* 'offspring of Svaśva "one having good horses".'

The (traditional) *prakriyā* of *vaiyasana* in two stages is as follows:

A.	(1) (*vi* + *as-*) + *LyuṬ*	P. 2.2.18;.3.3.117
	(2) (*vy* + *as*) + *ana*	P. 6.1.77; 7.1.1
	vyasana.	

B.	(1) (*vyasana* + *Ṅi*) + *aṆ*	P. 4.3.53
	(2) (*vyasana* + °) + *a*	P. 2.4.71
	(3) *vaiyasana* + *a*	P. 7.3.3 (a) and (b)
	(4) *vaiyasan°* + *a*	P. 6.4.148
	vaiyasana.	

The (traditional) *prakriyā* of *vaiyākaraṇa* is as follows:

A.	(1) (*vi* + *ā* + *kṛ-*) + *LyuṬ*	P. 2.2.18; 3.3.117
	(2) (*vy* + *ā* + *kar*) + *ana*	P. 6.1.77; 7.3.84; 7.1.1
	(3) *vyākaraṇa*	P. 8.4.2
	vyākaraṇa.	

B.	(1) (*vyākaraṇa* + *am*) + *aṆ*	P. 4.2.59
	(2) (*vyākaraṇa* + °) + *a*	P. 2.4.71
	(3) *vyākaraṇ°* + *a*	P. 6.4.148
	(4) *vaiyākaraṇa*	P. 7.3.3 (a) and (b)
	vaiyākaraṇa.	

The (traditional) *prakriyā* of *sauvaśva* is as follows:

A.	(1) *aś* + *KvaN*	*uṇādisūtra* 149
	aśva.	

B.	(1) ((*su* + *sU*) + (*aśva* + *sU*)$^{ap.}$	P. 2.2.24

(2) ((*su* + °) + (*aśva* + °) P. 2.4.71
svaśva P. 6.1.77
svaśva.

C. (1) (*svaśva* + *Ṅas*) + *aṆ* P. 4.1.112
(2) (*svaśva* + °) + *a* P. 2.4.71
(3) *svaśv°* + *a* P. 6.4.148
(4) *sauvaśva* P. 7.3.3 (a) and (b)
sauvaśva.

6. To point out the significance of the word *yvābhyām* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *nrārtiḥ*, derived in the sense of *nrarthasya apatyam* 'offspring of Nrartha.' The *taddhita* suffix added is *iÑ* by P. 4.1.95. Since the *pada nṛ* does not end in *y* or *v*, P. 7.3.3 (a) and (b) do not become applicable. Consequently, *vṛddhi* is applied to the vowel following after the *r* by P. 7.2.117, and *aiC* is not inserted.

To point out the significance of the word *padāntābhyām*, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *yāṣṭikaḥ*, derived in the sense of *yaṣṭiḥ praharaṇam asya* 'a lance is his weapon,' and *yātāḥ*, derived in the sense of *yata ime chāttrāḥ* 'these students are descendant of Yat.' The *taddhita* suffix added in *yāṣṭika* is *īkaK* by P. 4.4.59. Since in *yaṣṭi* the *y* is not *padānta*, P. 7.3.3 (a) and (b) do not apply. Instead, *vṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.2.118.

The *prakriyā* of *yāta* is as follows:

A. (1) *iṆ-* + *lAṬ* *Dhp*. 2.36; P. 3.2.123
(2) *i* + *ŚatṚ* P. 3.2.124
(3) *i* + *ŚaP* + *ŚatṚ* P. 3.1.68
(4) *i* + ° + *at* P. 2.4.73
(5) *y* + *at* P. 6.4.81
yat.

B. (1) (*yat* + *Ṅas*) + *aṆ* P. 4.1.92
(2) (*yat* + °) + *a* P. 2.4.71
(3) *yāt* + *a* P. 7.2.117
yāta.

Here also *y* does not occur at the end of a *pada*. Therefore P. 7.3.3 (a) and (b) do not apply. Instead, *vṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.2.117.

7. Following *Vt.* I and *Ślokavt.* ii on the present rule, the *KV* notes that the prohibition stated by P. 7.3.3 (a) serves to define the domain of the insertion of *aiC* by P. 7.3.3 (b). The examples are *dādhyaśviḥ* 'offspring of Dadhyaśva,' borrowed from Patañjali (*Mbh.* III, p. 317, line 25) and *mādhyaśviḥ* 'offspring of Madhyaśva.' These are *iÑ*-derivations by P. 4.1.95. The point of these examples, as explained by the *KV*, is that there is simply no chance for applying *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.117 to the vowel after *y* at all. Consequently, there is no need for prohibiting *vṛddhi*. It follows that the prohibition of *vṛddhi* by P. 7.3.3 (a) is not applicable, and therefore the insertion of *aiC* by P. 7.3.3 (b) is not applicable either, because the (a) and (b) rules must be conjointly applied.

8. The *KV*, following *Ślokavt.* iii on the rule, explains that the prohibition by P. 7.3.3 (a) also applies to *vṛddhi* applicable to the *uttarapada*. The example, borrowed from Patañjali (*Mbh.* III, p. 318, lines 7-8), is *pūrvatraiyalindaḥ*, derived in the sense of *pūrvatryalinde bhavaḥ* 'originating/found in Eastern Tryalinda,' presumably a place name. It has not been mentioned in Agrawala [2]1963. *Pūrvatraiyalinda* is a *taddhita aṆ*-derivation by P. 4.3.53. The argument runs as follows. In *tryalinda* the *y* is the substitute of the vowel *i* of *tri* which is *saṃbandhin* 'related to, belonging to, part of' the *uttarapada tryalinda*. This being so, *vṛddhi*, applicable by P. 7.3.3, is not applied to the first vowel of the *uttarapada*, namely, *a*, and *ai* is inserted before before the *y*, all in accordance with P. 7.3.3 (a) and (b). That is how we arrive at *pūrvatraiyalinda*.

Dvyāśītika is a different matter. As stated by the *KV*, it is derived in the sense of *dve aśītī bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā* 'one hired, one who lasted or will last for 160 days.' Reference is to P. 5.1.80. Here *vṛddhi* is applied to the first vowel of the *uttarapada*, and *aiC* is not inserted. That is to say, P. 7.3.3 (a) and (b) are not applied. Why not? The reason stated by the *KV* is that the *y* of *dvyāśīti* has no relation with, is not part of the *uttarapada*. In fact, it is part of the *pūrvapada*. That is why we do not derive the form **dvauyaśītika*. *Vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the *uttarapada* is applied by P. 7.3.15..The argument by the *KV* is based on the initial part of *Ślokavt.* iii and Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on that.

The *Nyāsa* offers the following explanation: *uttarapadasaṃbandhī yo 'cām ādir ac tasya sthāne yau vyau tābhyām uttarapadasya vṛddhir na bhavati* '*vṛddhi* is not applied to an *uttarapada* preceded by those *y* and *v* which come in place of that vowel which is the first among vowels belonging to the *uttarapada*.' But in *dvyāśītika* the *y* does not belong to the *uttarapada*.

The *prakriyā* of *dvyāśītika* is as follows:

(1) ((dvi + au) + (aśīti + au)) + ṭhaÑ P.4.1.2;.5.1.18; 2.1.51
(2) ((dvi + °) + (aśīti + °)) + ika P. 2.4.71; 6.3.47; 7.3.50
(3) (dvy + aśīti) + ika P. 6.1.77
(4) dvyāśīti + ika P. 7.3.15
(5) dvyāśīt° + ika P. 6.4.148
dvyāśītika

9. According to the Kielhorn division of the text we have two *Vts* on the rule, three *Ślokavts* and three *kārikās*. The *bhāṣya* starts with *Ślokavt*. i, goes on to just mention *Vt*. I, proceeds with *Ślokavts* ii and iii, and then finishes with a comment on *Vt*. II. The *kārikās*, which briefly sum up the discussion, come at the end, without commentary. The examples *āḍhyaśviḥ* and *dādhyaśviḥ* are quoted in the *bhāṣya* on the first part of *Ślokavt*. ii. The example *dvyāśītika* is mentioned in the last part of *Ślokavt*. ii. The example *pūrvatryalinda* occurs in the *bhāṣya* on *Ślokavt*. ii. The examples *vaiyākaraṇa* and *sauvaśva* are mentioned in the introductory *bhāṣya* to *Vt*. II.

7.3.4 DVĀRĀDĪNĀṂ CA 'also (*vṛddhi* does not come in place of the first among vowels coming after *y* or *v*) belonging to (the nominal base *aṅgas*) *dvāra* 'door,' etc.,' (but *ai* or *au* are inserted respectively before these two, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is both a *pratiṣedhasūtra* and a *vidhisūtra*. It prohibits *vṛddhi* for the first vowel coming after *y* or *v*. It also prescribes the insertion of the augments *ai* or *au* before *y* and *v* respectively (P. 1.3.10), on the condition stated.

2. Both the Benares and the critical Hyderabad editions of the *KV* on the present rule read *yvābhyām uttarapadasya* '(of the first vowel) of an *uttarapada* coming after *y* or *v*.' In the critical apparatus the Hyderabad edition mentions the reading *uttarasya* found in one ms. This is the correct reading. *Uttarasya* merely explains the meaning of the abl. *yvābhyām* (P. 1.1.67). In the commentary on P. 7.3.3 both editions read *uttarasya*. The reading *uttarapadasya* in the commentary on P. 7.3.4 is wrong, simply because here the question is not of cp. formation at all. It is about the words *dvāra*, etc., only, as stems for a *taddhita* derivation.

3. The *uddeśya* is *dvārādīnām* ((*aṅgānāṃ yvābhyām acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). *Dvārādi* is a *gaṇa*. According to the *KV*, it contains 10 bases, but according to Böhtlingk, who includes *śvas*, there are eleven. *Aṅgānām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma* from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ*. *Yvābhyām* is continued from P. 7.3.3 (a). *Padāntābhyām* from the same rule is

discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. The *y* and *v* meant in P. 7.3.4 are not *pada*-finals. *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.117 and 115. *Ñṇiti* is continued from P. 7.2.115, and *kiti* from P. 7.2.118. *Taddhite* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 7.2.117. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ na, tābhyāṃ tu pūrvau aiC*), continued from P. 7.3.3 (a) and P. 7.3.3 (b). The prohibition of *vṛddhi* and the insertion of *aiC* are conjointly applied. The particle *ca* indicates the boundary with the previous rule.

4. The examples quoted by the *KV* are

(1) For *dvāra*: *dauvārikaḥ*, derived in the sense of *dvāre niyuktaḥ* 'a gate keeper,' and *dauvārapālam*, derived in the sense of *dvārapālasya idam* 'this belongs to the gate keeper.' The *taddhita* suffixes are added in the sense prescribed by P. 4.4.69 and 4.3.120. The *KV* notes that in the case of *dvāra*, etc. the rule also applies to a form beginning with *dvāra*, that is, to *dvāra* as the first constituent of a cp., like in *dvārapāla*. Reference may be made to *PN*, *pbh*. 29, which says that a word in a rule containing the words *pada* or *aṅga* represents both that word and what begins with that word.

(2) For *svara* 'accent:' *sauvara*, derived in the sense of *svaram adhikṛtya kṛto granthaḥ* 'a treatise dealing with accent.' The *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ* by P. 4.3.87. For instance, *sauvaro 'dhyāyaḥ* 'the chapter dealing with accent,' and *sauvaryaḥ saptamyaḥ* ' loc. endings used in a rule dealing with accent (are to be understood as conveying the sense of ending in that).'

(3) For *vyalkaśa*, presumably a place name: *vaiyalkaśa*, derived in the sense *vyalkaśe bhavaḥ* 'originating in Vyalkaśa.'

(4) For *svasti* 'good luck,' as in: *svastîty āha* 'he says "good luck": *sauvastikaḥ* 'fortunate.'

(5) For *svar* 'sky': *sauvaḥ*, derived in the sense of *svar bhavaḥ* 'originating in the sky.' To justify the form *sauvaḥ* the *KV* quotes a *Vt.*-like statement which reads *avyayānāṃ bhamātre ṭilopaḥ* 'of *avyayas* deletion of the *ṭi*-portion takes place before any (suffix which causes the designation) *bha*.' The statement is not found in the *Mbh.*, but is well-known in Skt grammar. *Svar* is an indeclinable. The *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ* (P. 4.3.53). That gives us *svar* + *a*. The designation *bha* now applies to *svara* by P. 1.4.18. This being so, the *ṭi*-portion of *svar*, that is, *ar*, is deleted. The result *is sv* + *a*. Here P. 7.3.4 is applied, which gives us *sauva*.

(6) The *KV* notes that some grammarians (*kecid*) read *svādhyāya* in the *dvarādi-gaṇa*. Following Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on the rule, the *KV* concludes that this reading is redundant. When etymologized as *su* (= *śobhana*) + *adhyāya* 'a beautiful study,' (*su* → *sv*, P. 6.1.77), we can manage by the previous rule itself. Then do we assume the etymology as *svo 'dhyāyaḥ* 'one's own reciting.'? If so, we can manage on account of the reading of the word *sva* in the *gaṇapāṭha*, and the derivation of *sauvādhyāya* offers no difficulty.

(7) For *sphyakṛta*, presumably a proper name: *sphaiyakṛta*, derived in the sense of a descendant of Sphyakṛta. The suffix is *aṆ* (P. 4.1.92).

(8) For *śvan* 'dog': *śauvanam*, derived in the sense of *śunaḥ idam* 'this is of a dog.' See *AP* IX, P. 6.4.133, under 4. Here, following Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on the rule, the *KV* says that the original stem in *an* remains unchanged before the suffix *aṆ*. But when derived in the sense of *tasya vikārah* (P. 4.3.14), the resulting form is *śauvam* 'the meat of a dog.' See *AP* IX, P. 6.4.133, under 4.

(9) For *sva* 'own': *sauvam*, derived in the sense of *svasya idam* 'this belongs to oneself.' The suffix is *aṆ* (P. 4.3.120). For instance, *sauvagrāmika*, derived in the sense of *svagrāme bhavaḥ* 'originating in one's own village.' For the suffix *ṭhaÑ* (*ika*, P 7.3.50) the *KV* refers to *Ślokavt*. i on P. 4.3.60. The *adhyātmādi-gaṇa* is considered to be an *ākṛtigaṇa*.

5. The *KV* notes that the present rule is phrased for forms in which *y* and *v* do not occur as *pada* finals.

6. At the end of its commentary the *KV* enumerates the stems belonging to the *dvārādi-gaṇa*.

7. We have no *Vts* on the rule, but there is a *bhāṣya*. The question discussed is whether the words *yvābhyām* (*parasya*) *acām ādeḥ acaḥ na vṛddhiḥ* from P. 7.3.3 should be continued in P. 7.3.4, or not. The discussion centres on two examples, *śauvam* and *svādhyāya*. In deriving *śauvam* the difficulty is that, once *an* is deleted from *śvan* by P. 6.4.144, what remains is *śv*. Here there is no following vowel before the *taddhita* suffix *aṆ*. Then how to apply P. 7.3.4 for *vṛddhipratiṣedha* and for the augment *aiC*? We cannot apply one without the other. Patañjali concludes that, even if the words quoted above are continued, we have no difficulty in deriving *śauvam*. Why not? Because of *ānupūrvī* 'sequence.' The sequence meant is the order of rule application in the *prakriyā*. Instead of first applying P. 6.4.144,

and then facing the impossibility of applying P. 7.3.4, we will first apply P. 7.3.4, and then, after *vṛddhipratiṣedha* and *aiC* have been applied, we will apply P. 6.4.144.

If *svādhyāya* is analysed as *sva* + *adhyāya*, P. 7.3.3. cannot become applicable because the *v* in *sva* is not a *pada* final. But since *svādhyāya* is specially mentioned in the *dvārādi*-list, *aiC*, that is, *au*, will be inserted before the *v*. Why not before the *y* in *adhy*? Because, according to Patañjali, *acām ādeḥ acaḥ* is continued in P. 7.3.4 from P. 7.2.115 and 117. The point is that in *svādhyāya* the *v* occurs before the first vowel of the word, but the *y* does not.

Patañjali's final conclusion is that *acām ādeḥ acaḥ vṛddhir na* is continued in P. 7.3.4. In all examples quoted for this rule *vṛddhi* is prohibited and *aiC* is inserted conjointly.

7.3.5 NYAGRODHASYA CA KEVALASYA 'also, (*vṛddhi* does not come in place of the first among vowels coming after *y* or *v*) belonging to (the nominal base *aṅga*) *nyagrodha* "Ficus Indica," when used by itself, (and *aiC* is inserted before these two, *y* and *v*, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ or K follows immediately)

1. This is both a *pratiṣedhasūtra* and a *vidhisūtra*. It prohibits *vṛddhi* for the first vowel coming after the *y* of *nyagrodha*. It also prescribes the insertion of the augment *ai* before the same *y*, on the condition stated..

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya*) *nyagrodhasya kevalasya* (*yvābhyām acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. The addition of *kevalasya* makes it clear that the rule holds for *nyagrodha* as an independent word, not as a constituent of a cp. *Yvābhyām*, that is, *yakārāt* 'after the *y*,' is continued from P. 7.3.3. The *KV* adds the word *uttarasya* after *yakārāt* to explain the meaning of the technical abl. (P. 1 1 67). *Acām ādeḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.117 and *acaḥ* from P. 7.2.115. *Acaḥ* is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. *Ñṇiti* is continued from P. 7.2.115, and *kiti* from P. 7.2.118. *Taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.117. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ na, tābhyāṃ tu pūrvau aiC*) continued from P. 7.3.3 (a) and (b). The prohibition of *vṛddhi* and the insertion of *aiC* are conjointly applied. The particle *ca* indicates the boundary with the previous rule.

3. For the *prakriyā* of the word *nyagrodha* and Patañjali's explanation of the word *kevalasya* in the rule involving a clue see P. 7.1.1, under 5 (*Vt.* V).

4. The example quoted by the *KV* is *naiyagrodhaś camasaḥ* 'a cup made of *nyagrodha* wood.' The *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ* in the sense of *tasya vikāraḥ* by

P. 4.3.134.

5. To point out the significance of the word *kevalasya* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *nyagrodhamūlā śālayaḥ*, derived in the sense of *nyagrodhamūle bhavāḥ śālayaḥ* 'rice growing on the root of a *nyagrodha* tree.' For the *prakriyā* see P. 7.1.1, under 5 (*Vt.* V).

6. Finally, the *KV* points out that, if we adopt the *vyutpattipakṣa* 'the view that words can be derived etymologically,' P. 7.3.5 must have a restrictive character (*niyama*). The point is that, if an etymological derivation can be offered for *nyagrodha*, we can apply the prohibition of *vṛddhi* conjointly with the insertion of *ai* by P. 7.3.3. Then P. 7.3.5 is not really required. Therefore, to render this rule purposeful, it is assumed that it has the character of a restriction. That is to say, if P. 7.3.5 is applied to *nyagrodha*, then it must be applied to the word *nyagrodha* by itself, not to a word beginning with *nyagrodha*, like in *nyagrodhamūla*.

If, on the other hand, the *vyutpattipakṣa* is rejected, P. 7.3.5 must be regarded as a normal *vidhi*. That is to say, if we regard *nyagrodha* as an underivable word, not analysable as (*ny* + *ac*) + *rodha*, we cannot maintain that the *y* is a *pada* final. Therefore P. 7.3.3 cannot become applicable. To justify the form *naiyagrodha*, we need a special rule, namely, P. 7.3.5, by which *vṛddhi-pratiṣedha* and *ai*C are applied in conjunction. To prevent its application in cp. formations like *nyagrodhamūla*, the word *kevalasya* has been added in the rule.

7. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.6 NA KARMAVYATIHĀRE '(the prohibition of *vṛddhi* for the first vowel among the vowels coming after *y* or *v* of a nominal base *aṅga* and the insertion of *ai*C before these two, *y* or *v*, is) not (allowed), if the sense of *karmavyatihāra* "reciprocal action" is conveyed, (provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*. It prohibits the joint application of *vṛddhi-pratiṣedha* and the insertion of *ai*C on the meaning condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgānāṃ yvābhyām acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *aṅgānām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. See further P. 7.3.5, under 2. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ na, tābhyāṃ tu pūrvau ai*C) *na*. The prohibition of *vṛddhi* is annulled together with the insertion of *ai*C. In the case of a

pratiṣedhasūtra the *KV* does not indicate *anuvṛtti*. It merely says *yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati* '(the rule, that is, the prohibition) applies to what has been stated (earlier).'

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *vyāvakrośī* 'mutual vituperation,' *vyāvalekhī* 'mutual scratching', *vyāvavartī* 'mutual turning away' and *vyāvahāsī* 'mutual laughter.' The *prakriyā* of *vyāvakrośī* is as follows:

(1)	((((*vi*+ *sU*) + (*ā* + *sU*) + (*ava* + *sU*)) + *kruś*))) + *ṆaC*)))) + *aÑ*	P.2.2.18; 3.3.43; 5.4.14
(2)	((((*vi*+ °) + (*ā* + °) + (*ava* + °)) + *kruś*))) + *a*)))) + *a*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	(*vyāvakruś* + *a*) + *a*	P. 6.1.77; 6.1.101.
(4)	(*vyāvakroś* + *a*) + *a*	P. 7.3.86
(5)	(*vyāvakroś* + °) + *a*	P.6.4.148
(6)	*vyāvakrośa* + *ṆīP*	P. 4.1.15
(7)	*vyāvakroś°* + *ī*	P.6.4.148
	vyāvakrośī.	

The word *vyāvakruśa* ending in the *kṛt* suffix *ṆaC* cannot be independently derived. *ṆaC* only comes in conjunction with the *taddhita* suffix *aÑ* and with the fem. suffix *ṆīP*. This is one of the rare cases in which the invariable conjunction of a *kṛt* suffix with a *taddhita* suffix is prescribed in the A.

By the present rule the application of *vṛddhi* and the insertion of *aiC* are prohibited. Therefore we do not derive the form **vaiyāvakrośī*.

4. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.7 SVĀGATĀDĪNĀṂ CA 'also (the prohibition of *vṛddhi* for the first vowel among the vowels coming after *y* or *v* of a nominal base *aṅga* and the insertion of *aiC* before these two, *y* or *v* is not allowed) for *svāgata* "welcome," etc., (provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*. It prohibits the joint application of *vṛddhipratiṣedha* and the insertion of *aiC* for stems listed in the *svāgatādi-gaṇa*.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgānāṃ svāgatādīnāṃ yvābhyām acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *aṅgānām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. See further P. 7.3.5, under 2, for details of *anuvṛtti*. The word *svāgatādīnām* discontinues

the meaning condition *karmavyatihāre* from P. 7.3.6 on the basis of common sense (*sāmarthya*). The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ na, tābhyām tu pūrvau aiC na*), continued from P. 7.3.6. For the practice followed by the *KV* regarding *anuvṛtti* in case of a *pratiṣedhasūtra* see P. 7.3.6, under 2.

According to the *KV*, the *svāgatādi-gaṇa* contains seven stems.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *svāgatika*, derived in the sense of *svāgatam ity āha* 'he says "welcome",' *svādhvarika*, derived in the sense of *svadhareṇa carati* 'he is engaged in the Soma sacrifice,' *svāṅgi*, derived in the sense of *svaṅgasya apatyam* 'a descendant of Svaṅga,' *vyāṅgi*, derived in the sense of *vyaṅgasya apatyam* 'a descendant of Vyaṅga,' *vyāḍi*, derived in the sense of *vyaḍasya apatyam* 'a descendant of Vyaḍa,' and *vyāvahārika* 'one who moves about by means of *vyavahāra*.' The *KV* explains that *vyavahāra* here is used in a non-technical sense of worldly dealings, not in the technical sense of *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocal action' mentioned in P. 7.3.6. The last example is *svāpateya*, derived in the sense of *svapatau sādhuḥ* 'one who is good for his master.' Regarding this example the *KV* notes that there is an undesired possibility to apply P. 7.3.4, because *sva* has been listed in the *dvārādi-gaṇa*. See under 4 (e).

4. Derivational details:

(*a*) *svāgatika*. The *taddhita* suffix is *ṭhaK* by *Vt*. I on P. 4.4.1. Apply P. 7.3.50 and P. 6.4.148. *Vṛddhipratiṣedha* is not applied. Therefore the first vowel of *svagata*, that is *a*, is replaced by *ā* by P. 7.2.118. The undesired form ruled out by the present rule is **sauvāgatika*.

(*b*) *svādhvarika*. The *taddhita* suffix is *ṭhaK*, by P. 4.4.8. *Vṛddhipraṭiṣedha* is not applied. Therefore the first vowel of *adhvara* is replaced by *ā* by P. 7.2.118. The undesired form ruled out by the present rule is **sauvādhvarika*.

(*c*) *svāṅgi*. The *taddhita* suffix is *iÑ* by P. 4.1.95. *Vṛddhipratiṣedha* is not applied. Therefore the first vowel of *svaṅga* is replaced by *ā* by P. 7.2.117. The undesired form ruled out by the present rule is **sauvāṅgi*. The same details apply to *vyāḍi*, except that here the uindesired form is **vaiyāḍi*.

(*d*) *vyāvahārika*. The *taddhita* suffix is *ṭhaK*, by P. 4.4.8. See further under (a).

(*e*) *svāpateya*. The *taddhita* suffix is *ḍhaÑ* by P. 4.4.104. Apply P. 7.1.2. and P. 6.4.148. *Vṛddhipratiṣedha* and *aiC* are not applied. Therefore the first vowel of

svapati is replaced by *ā* by P. 7.2.117. Since the *v* of *sva* is not *padānta*, the prohibition of *vṛddhi* and of the *ai*C-insertion cannot apply by P. 7.3.3. Then why specially mention *svapati* in the *svāgatādi-gaṇa*? The reason is that the word *sva* has been mentioned in the *dvārādi-gaṇa* (P. 7.3.4) This would allow the insertion of *ai*C. The resulting undesired form would be **sauvāpateya*. To prevent this, *svapati* has been mentioned in the *svāgatādi*-list.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.8 ŚVĀDER IÑI '(the prohibition of *vṛddhi* for the first vowel among the vowels coming after *y* or *v* of a nominal base *aṅga* and the insertion of *ai*C before these two, *y* or *v*, is not allowed) for (a cp. beginning with the word) *śva*(*n*) "dog"), provided that (the *taddhita* suffix) *i*Ñ follows immediately,' (if a *taddhita* suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ, or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra* concerning a cp. formed with *śvan* as the first member. It prohibits the joint application of *vṛddhipratiṣedha* and the insertion of *ai*C applicable by P. 7.3.4, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṣgasya*) *śvādeḥ* (*yvābhyām acām ādeḥ acaḥ* (*ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Śvādi* is a *bv.* cp. and refers to a cp. beginning with *śvan*. It discontinues *svāgatādīnām* from P. 7.3.7. The condition *iñi* merely specifies a *taddhita* suffix marked with Ñ among *ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* from P. 7.2.115 - 118. For further details of *anuvṛtti* see P. 7.3.5, under 2. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ na, tābhyāṃ tu pūrvau ai*C *na*), continued from P. 7.3.6 and 7.3.4.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *śvābhastri*, derived in the sense of *śvabhastrasya apatyam* 'a descendant of Śvabhastra' and *śvādaṃṣṭri*, to be derived in the sense of *śvadaṃṣṭrasya apatyam* 'a descendant of Śvadaṃṣṭra.' *Ādivṛddhi* is by P. 7.2.117. The *n* of *śvan* is deleted by P. 8.2.7. The undesired forms ruled out by the present rule are **śauvābhastri* and **śauvādaṃṣṭri*.

4. Referring to *Vt*. I on the rule and following Patañjali the *KV* explains that the present rule provides a clue. The difficulty is that the *vṛddhipratiṣedha* and the insertion of *ai*C for the word *śvan* has already been taken care of by P. 7.3.4, because *śvan* has been mentioned in the *dvārādi-gaṇa*. Then is P. 7.3.8 redundant? The answer is, no. The assumption to make P. 7.3.8 purposeful is that this rule offers us a clue. The clue is that *taddhita* rules mentioned in the *aṅga*-section are applicable to the stems specified, but also to *tadādi* forms, that is, forms beginning with these stems. For instance, P. 7.3.4 applies to *dvāra*, as in *dauvarika*, but also

to a cp. formed with *dvāra*, as in *dauvarapāla*. But in case of cps formed with *śvan* as the first member we do not want the joint application of *vṛddhipratiṣedha* and the insertion of *aiC*. That is why, on the assumption of the clue, P. 7.3.8 becomes purposeful. The clue has already been referred to in connection with the *Vts* I and II on P. 7.3.1. See this rule under 5.

5. The *KV* then quotes *Vt*. II on the present rule. The *Vt*. says that inclusion is to be made of a *taddhita* suffix beginning with *i* in order to justify the usage *śvāganika* 'one who moves about with a pack of dogs.' Another example quoted by the *KV* is *śvāyūthika* 'meant for a group of dogs,' derived by P. 5.1.109. The *taddhita* suffix is *ṭhaÑ*.

6. The *KV* finally refers to *Vt*. III on the rule. The *Vt*. says that a prohibition is to be phrased elsewhere also for what ends in that (suffix *iÑ*). The example quoted by Patañjali is *śvābhastram*, derived in the sense of *śvābhastreḥ svam* 'the property of Śvābhastri.' The *taddhita* suffix added to *śvābhastri* is *aṆ* by P. 4.3.120. Here also P. 7.3.8 applies. So we have no *vṛddhipratiṣedha* and no insertion of *aiC*. The undesired form ruled out by the *Vt*. is **śauvabhastram*.

7. We have three *Vts* on the rule. They have been dealt with under 4-6, above. *Vt*. I itself mentions the example *śauvahāna*, which, according to Patañjali, is the name of a town. Patañjali adds the example *śauvādaṃṣṭra*, which is a kind of precious stone. In *śauvahāna* - the *taddhita* suffix is *aṆ*, by P. 4.2.67 - we find the joint application of *vṛddhipratiṣedha* and *aiC* by P. 7.3.8. In *śauvādaṃṣṭra* lengthening is applied by a *Vt*. not found in the *Mbh*., but mentioned by the *KV* on P. 6.3.137.

8. The argument may be summed up as follows:

(a) *Śvan* has been listed in the *dvārādi-gaṇa* (P. 7.3.4). Accordingly, we derive the form *śauvam*. See P. 7.3.4, under 7.

(b) In the case of the stems listed in the *dvārādi-gaṇa* the *tadādividhi* is applicable. That is to say, P. 7.3.4 also applies to cps beginning with one of the stems listed., like in the case of cps beginning with *śvan*.

(c) The application of P. 7.3.4 which prescribes *vṛddhipratiṣedha* and the insertion of *aiC* is prohibited by P. 7.3.6.

(d) The prohibition by P. 7.3.8 applies to *śvan* and cps beginning with *śvan*, if the *taddhita* suffix *iÑ* is added.

(e) But when the *taddhita* suffix *iÑ* is not added after a cp. beginning with *śvan*, the application of P. 7.3.4 is desired. Thus we derive *śauvahāna* and *śauvādaṃṣṭra*

7.3.9 PADĀNTASYĀNYATARASYĀM '(the prohibition of *vṛddhi* for the first vowel among vowels coming after *y* or *v* of a nominal base *aṅga* and the insertion of *aiC* before these two, *y* or *v*, is) optionally (not allowed for a cp. beginning with *śvan* "dog" when ending in (the word) *pada*'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* which optionally allows *vṛddhipratiṣedha* and the insertion of *aiC* for a cp. formed of *śvan* and *pada* as the final constituent.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya śvādeḥ*) *padāntasya* (*yvābhyām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Padāntasya* is connected with *śvādeḥ* continued from P. 7.3.8. *Iñi* from P. 7.3.8 is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya* 'common sense.' The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ na, tābhyāṃ tu pūrvau aiC na*) *anyatarasyām*. *Na* is continued from P. 7.3.6. For the meaning attributed to *anyatarasyām* see Kiparsky 1979, p. 1. For the continuation of *na* in connection with an option word see *FANU*, p. 274, convention 40. *Na anyatarasyām* means 'optionally not,' and thus amounts to the same as *anyatarasyām*. For further details of *anyvrtti* see P. 7.3.5, under 2.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *śvāpadam*, derived in the sense of *śvapadasya idam* 'this belongs to one having a foot like that of a dog' and *śauvāpadam* conveying the same meaning. According to the *Nyāsa* here, the cp. is an *upamānapūrvapada bv*. cp. by *Vt*. XII on P. 2.2.24. We note that *śvāpada* may also mean 'a wild animal.' The *taddhita* suffix is *aṆ* by P. 4.3.120. *Vṛddhi* (in *śvā°* is by P. 7.2.117. In the first example the joint application of *vṛddhi-pratiṣedha* and *aiC* is prohibited by P. 7.3.7. In *śauvāpadam* the joint application is optionally allowed. Here lengthening is applied by P. 6.3.137.

4. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.10 UTTARAPADASYA 'in place of the final .member (of a nominal base *aṅga*)'

1. This is an *adhikāsūtra*. It introduces the term *uttarapadasya* which is to be supplied in the following section. The limit up to where has not been stated in the rule, but we infer on the basis of *sāmarthya*, using our common sense, that it is to be supplied up to P. 7.3.31 inclusive. In its commentary on P. 7.3.32 the *KV* says *taddhiteṣu iti nivṛttam* 'the word *taddhiteṣu* (from P. 7.2.117) is discontinued.'

This implies that all elements associated with the *taddhita* formations are also discontinued.

Being an *adhikārasūtra*, P. 7.3.10 must have been marked with *svarita*, by P. 1.3.11.

2. The term *uttarapada* has been taken over by Pāṇini from earlier grammatical tradition, and has not been formally defined. Compare also *pūrvapada*. The words *aṅgasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ vṛddhiḥ* already continued in the rules from P. 7.3.3 (a) onwards are to be continued in the present section also. Here the term *aṅgasya* refers to a cp. The remainder consisting of the prohibition of the joint application of *vṛddhi* and the insertion of *ai*C is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. The full text of the items to be continued and supplied reads *aṅgasya yad uttarapadaṃ tasya ācām ādeḥ acaḥ vṛddhiḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* '*vṛddhi* comes in place of the vowel which is the first among the vowels of the *uttarapada* of an *aṅga*, provided that a suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately.'

The present *adhikāra* sets aside the *pūrvapadavṛddhi* prescribed by P. 7.2.117. This is inferred from the special mention of *pūrvapadasya ca* in P. 7.3.19, which allows *vṛddhi* to take place in both the *uttarapada* and the *pūrvapada* of the cp. termed *aṅga*.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *pūrvavārṣika* 'originating in the first part of the rainy season,' *aparavārṣika* 'originating in the latter part of the rainy season,' *pūrvahaimana* 'belonging to the first part of the winter season' and *aparahaimana* 'belonging to the latter part of the winter season.'

The cp. *pūrvavarṣāḥ* is formed by P. 2.2.1 (*ekadeśisamāsa*). The *taddhita* suffix *ṭhaK* is added by P. 4.3.53, and replaced by *ika*, by P. 7.3.50. Then apply P. 6.4.148 and P. 7.3.11 for the *uttarapadavṛddhi*. Here the *uttarapada* stands for a season. It is preceded by a word which stands for part of that season. The same for *aparavārṣika*. It may be asked, why not first derive the *taddhita* form *vārṣika* and then form a cp. with *pūrva*? The answer must be sought in the meaning-analysis adopted. Here the basic form assumed is *pūrvavarṣāḥ*. The *taddhita* derivation presents a modified meaning of that basic form. See also under P. 7.3.30.

The cp. *pūrvahemanta* is formed by P. 2.2.1 (*ekadeśisamāsa*). The *taddhita* suffix *aṆ* is added by P. 4.3.22. We succesively delete the final *a* by P. 6.4.148, and the *t* by P. 4.3.22. Then apply P. 7.3.11 for the *uttarapadavṛddhi*. The result is *purvahaimanam*. The same for *aparahaimanam*.

4. The *KV* finally refers to two points regarding the purpose of the rule made by Patañjali in his introductory *bhāṣya* on *Vt*. I on the rule. The *KV* first says that P. 7.3.10 has been phrased for the sake of the rules P. 7.3.18, ff., where there is no mention of an abl. word. The second point is that even where a following rule contains an abl. word, we will assume that P. 7.3.10 has been phrased for the sake of clarity's sake , or for reference to the special *vṛddhi* prescribed by P. 6.2.105. This rule refers to *uttarapadavṛddhi* covered by the *aṅgādhikāra*-section, P. 7.3.10, ff.

5. We have one *Vt*. on the rule. In his introductory *bhāṣya* Patañjali discusses the purpose of the rule. It is stated that P. 7.3.10 is not really required for those rules which mention both a *pūrvapada* (in the abl.) and an *uttarapada* (in the gen.). For instance, P. 7.3.13 prescribes *uttarapadavṛddhi* for *janapada*-designations (except *madrāḥ*), when preceded by a word standing for a direction. One example is *pūrvapāñcālaka* 'born in Eastern Pañcāla.' The *taddhita* suffix added is *vuÑ* (P. 4.2.124). To have *vṛddhi* here, P. 7.3.10 is not required, precisely because the direction indicating word has been mentioned in the abl. (P. 1.1.67), and, therefore, *vṛddhi* can be applied to the *uttarapada* only. Here P. 7.3.10 has a merely clarificatory function.

One may, however, argue that, still, P. 7.3.10 is required because we have the accent rule P. 6.2.105. This rule says that words standing for a direction take *udātta* on the final syllable of the *pūrvapada*, if the first vowel of the *uttarapada* shows *vṛddhi* as prescribed by a rule which comes under the heading *uttarapadasya*. Thus P. 6.2.105 falls within the domain of P. 7.3.10.

But P. 7.3.10 is required for those rules in which the *pūrvapada* has not been mentioned in the abl.. An instance is P. 7.3.18. The rule prescribes *vṛddhi* for the first vowel of the *uttarapada* of *proṣṭhapada*, if a *taddhita* suffix conveying the sense of *jāta* 'born' and marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately. The word *proṣṭhapada* is a *bv*. cp. mentioned as the name of a constellation by way of a ready-made form in P. 5.4.120. The meaning explanation provided by the *KV* is *proṣṭho* (i.e.) *gauḥ tasyeva pādāv asya* 'whose feet are like those of a bull.' An example for P. 7.3.18 is *proṣṭhapādo māṇavakaḥ* 'a boy born under the constellation *proṣṭhapada*.' Now, if P. 7.3.10 had not been phrased, we would have applied *vṛddhi* to the first vowel of *proṣṭhapadāḥ*. The resulting undesired form is **prauṣṭhapada*.

Vt. I says that in connection with *acām ādivṛddhi* prescribed before a *taddhita* suffix, the *uttarapadavṛddhi* prevails according to conflict procedure, for the sake of *dvyāśītika* 'one hired for 2 x 80 days,' etc. For the derivation of *dvyāśītika* see P. 7.3.3 (b), under 8. What the *Vt*. means is that in the case indicated, that is, where *vṛddhi*

has been prescribed for the first vowel of a nominal base *aṅga* by P. 7.2.117, and the *uttarapadavṛddhi* is applicable, the *uttarapadavṛddhi* by P. 7.3.15 prevails over the *ādivṛddhi* by P. 7.2.117. Traditionally, for the prevalence the *para*-principle (P. 4.1.2) is invoked. Since we have rejected this principle, we will make use of the *utsarga-apavāda*-principle, for which see *AP* II, p. xii-xviii. P. 7.3.15 is the more special rule because it is restricted to numerals. A similar problem involving *ādivṛddhi* and *antyopadhāvṛddhi* arose in connection with P. 7.2.117. See *AP* XI, p.250.

In his *bhāṣya* on *Vt*. I Patañjali finally raises the question what is the difference between applying *acām ādivṛddhi* and applying *uttarapadavṛddhi* in the case of *dvyāśītika*? In both cases we replace the *a* of *aśīti* by *ā*. The answer given is that when applying *uttarapadavṛddhi* we cannot have the joint application of *vṛddhipratiṣedha* and the insertion of *aiC* by P. 7.3.3 (a) and (b). The reason is that the *y* in *dvyaśītika* does not form part of the *uttarapada*.

7.3.11 AVAYAVĀD ṚTOḤ '(*vṛddhi* comes) in place of (the first vowel among the vowels of an *uttarapada* signifying) *ṛtu* "season" base, coming after (a word standing for) a part (of that *ṛtu*, and which is part of a nominal base *aṅga*, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowel of an *uttarapada* on the conditions stated. The rule also prohibits *ādivṛddhi* by P. 7.2.117.

2. The *uddeśya* is *avayavād ṛtoḥ* (*aṅgasya uttarapadasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *uttarapadasya*, which is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*, is qualified by three conditions. First, it must convey the sense of *ṛtu*. *Uttarapadasya* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* with *ṛtoḥ*. Secondly, the *uttarapada* must be preceded by a word standing for a part. The word standing for the *avayava* represents the *pūrvapada*, the *ṛtuvācin* word being the *uttarapada*. In the third place, it must be part of an *aṅga*. Therefore *aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī*. Together, the *pūrvapada* and the *uttarapada* form a cp. which is the *aṅga*.

Aṅgasya is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Uttarapadasya* is supplied by P. 7.3.10. *Avayavāt* is a technical abl. As explained by the *Nyāsa*, *ṛtoḥ* does not stand for its own form (P. 1.1.68), but for its meaning. A part-relation (*avayava*) with the word *ṛtu* is not possible. *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.115 and 117. *Ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. The *vidheya* is *vṛddhiḥ*, continued from P. 7.2.114.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* have already been mentioned in connection with P. 7.3.10, under 3.

4. The *KV* then brings in the question of *tadantavidhi*. The reason is that without the application of the *tadantavidhi* we cannot justify P. 7.3.11. Reference for the prohibition of the *tadantavidhi* is either to *Vt*. III on P. 1.1.72, or to *PN*, *pbh*. 31. According to *Vt*. III, the *tadantavidhi* is prohibited in the cases of cp.-formation or suffixation. According to the *pbh*, a word used in a rule which can only be a *prātipadika* does not stand for a form ending with that word. Thus here the *tadantavidhi* is ruled out. This implies that, since the *taddhita* rules P. 4.3.18 and 21 contain the *prātipadikas varsā* 'rainy season' and *hemanta*, they cannot become applicable to forms ending in *varṣā* and *hemanta*. Consequently. we cannot add the suffixes *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ* to cps whose *uttarapada* is *varṣā* and *hemanta*. To remove this difficulty, the *KV* refers to *Vt*. XVIII on P. 1.1.72. This *Vt*. says *ṛtor vṛddhimadvidhāv avayavānām* 'in a rule (which prescribes a suffix) containing (a cause, like the markers Ñ, Ṇ or K of) *vṛddhi* after (a word signifying) *ṛtu* (the *tadantavidhi* is applied) to (words signifying) parts (of the *ṛtu*),' that is, to *rtu* words preceded by a word signifying part of the *ṛtu*. Thereby, P. 7.3.11 also applies to *aṅgas*, that is, cps, ending in a word standing for a season, like *pūrvavarṣa* and *aparahemanta*.

5. The counterexample is *paurvavarṣika* 'originating in an earlier rainy season.' Here reference is not to a part (*avayava*) of a rainy season, but to a *pūrvakāla* 'earlier time.' The suffix added here is *ṭhaÑ*, by P. 4.3.11. Therefore P. 7.3.11, which deals with *vṛddhi* in the *uttarapada*, does not apply here. Instead, P. 7.2.117, which deals with general *ādivṛddhi*, applies.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.12 SUSARVĀRDHĀJ JANAPADASYA '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of (the first vowel among vowels) of (an *uttarapada*) signifying a *janapada* "territory," coming after *su* :"good," *sarva* "all" or *ardha* "half," (and forming part of a nominal base *aṅga*, provided that a suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ or K follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowel of an *uttarapada* on the conditions stated. P. 8.4.40 is applied for retroflexation of the *s* of *sarva*.

2. The *uddeśya* is *susarvārdhāt* (*aṅgasya*) *janapadasya uttarapadasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *uttarapadasya*, which is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī*, is subject to three conditions. First, it must convey the sense of *janapada*. *Uttarapadasya* stands

in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *janapadasya*. Secondly, the *uttarapada* must be preceded by *su*, etc. Here *su*, etc. represent the *pūrvapada*. In the third place, it must be part of an *aṅga*. Therefore *aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī*. Together, the *pūrvapada* and the *uttarapada* form a cp. which is the *aṅga*.

Aṅgasya is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Uttarapadasya* is supplied by P. 7.3.10. *Janapadasya*, like *ṛtoḥ* in the previous *sūtra*, does not stand for its own form, but for its meaning. *Susarvārdhāt* is a technical abl. *Susarvārdhāj janapadasya* discontinues *avayavād ṛtoḥ* from P. 7.3.11. For what is called *janapada* see Agrawala [2]1963, p.49, 426-427. *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.115 and 117. *Ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. The *vidheya* is *vṛddhiḥ*, continued from P. 7.2.114.

3. The examples provided by the *KV* are *supāñcālaka* 'originating in/belonging to the good territory Pañcāla,' *sarvapāñcālaka* 'originating in/belonging to the whole territory of Pañcāla' and *ardhapāñcālaka* 'originating in/belonging to the half territory of Pañcāla.' Cp.-formation is by P. 2.2.18 (for *su*), P. 2.1.49 (for *sarva*) and P. 2.2.2 (for *ardha*). The *taddhita* suffix is *vuÑ*, by P. 4.2.125. Further apply P. 7.1.1 and P. 6.4.148.

4. The present rule prohibits *ādivṛddhi* by P. 7.2.117. The same difficulty regarding the application of the *tadantavidhi* which was raised in the commentary on P. 7.3.11 is raised again, namely, that *PN*, *pbh*. 31 prohibits the application of the *tadantavidhi*. To remove this difficulty, the *KV* refers to *Vt*. XVII on P. 1.1.72. This *Vt*. says *susarvārdhadikśabdebhyo janapadasya* '(the *tadantavidhi* applies) to a word signifying) a *janapada* preceded by *su*, *sarva*, *ardha* or a word standing for a direction (in P. 4.2.125).' That is why we can justify the forms prescribed by P. 7.3.12. which deals with *aṅgas* ending in such words.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.13 DIŚO 'MADRĀṆĀM '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among the vowels of an *uttarapada* signifying a *janapada* "territory") with the exception of *madrāḥ*, coming after (a word standing for) a direction (and forming part of of a nominal base *aṅga*, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowel of an *uttarapada* on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *diśaḥ* (*aṅgasya janapadasya uttarapadasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). *Uttarapadasya* is subject to three conditions. First, it must convey the sense of *janapada*, except *madrāḥ*. *Uttarapadasya* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *janapadasya*. Secondly, the *uttarapada* must be preceded by a *dikśabda*. Here the *dikśabda* represents the *pūrvapada*, and the *janapadavācin* word the *uttarapada*. Thirdly, it must be part of an *aṅga*. Therefore *aṅgasya* (from P. 6.4.1) is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī*. Together, the *pūrvapada* and the *uttarapada* form a cp. which is the *aṅga*. For the grammatical structure of the rule compare P. 7.3.11 and 12. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*) *amadrāṇām*. Here *vṛddhiḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.114.

Uttarapadasya is supplied by P. 7.3.10. For *janapadasya* see P. 7.3.12, under 2. For the use of the genitive in *madrāṇām* to indicate an exception see *AP* VII, P. 2.3.72, under 4. Names of a country (*janapada*) are always used in the plural. For the territory called *madrāḥ* see Agrawala [2]1963, p. 53. *Diśaḥ* is a technical abl., to be interpreted as *dikśabdāt* 'after a word signifying a direction.' It discontinues *susarvārdhāt* from P. 7.3.12, *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.115 and 117. *Ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118.

3. The examples by the *KV* are *pūrvapāñcālaka* 'coming from East Pañcāla,' *aparapāñcālaka* 'coming from West Pañcāla' and *daksinapāñcālaka* 'coming from South Pañcāla.' Cp.-formation with *pūrva* and *apara* is by P. 2.1.50. The *taddhita* suffix is *vuÑ* by P. 4.2.125. Then apply P. 7.1.1; 6.4.148 and 7.3.13.

4. To point out the significance of the word *diśaḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *paurvapañcālaka* 'originating in the eastern part of Pañcāla' and *āparapañcālaka* 'originating in the western part of Pañcāla.' These are *ekadeśisamāsa* formations by P. 2.2.1. Here *uttarapadavṛddhi* by P. 7.3.13 is not applied, but *ādivṛddhi* is, by P. 7.2.117.

To point out the significance of the word *amadrāṇām*, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *paurvamadraḥ* 'belonging to East Madra' and *āparamadraḥ* 'belonging to West Madra.' The *taddhita* suffix is *aÑ*, by P. 4.2.108. Here *uttarapadavṛddhi* by P. 7.3.13 is not applied, but *ādivṛddhi* is, by P. 7.2.117.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.14 PRĀCĀṂ GRĀMANAGARĀṆĀM '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among the vowels) of (*uttarapadas*) signifying villages or towns of the easterners, coming after a word standing for a direction (and) forming part of a nominal base *aṅga*, provided that a suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowel of an *uttarapada* on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya diśaḥ*) *prācāṃ grāmanagarāṇām* (*uttarapadānām acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *uttarapadānām*, which is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*, is subject to three conditions. First, it must convey the sense of a village or a town of the easterners. *Uttarapadānām* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *grāmanagarāṇām*. The *uttarapadas* must be *grāma*- or *nagara-vācin* words. Secondly, the *uttarapadas* must be preceded by a *dikśabda*. Here the *dikśabda* represents the *pūrvapada*. In the third place, the *uttarapadas* must be part of an *aṅga*. Therefore *aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī*. Together, the *pūrvapada* and the *uttarapada* form a cp. which is the *aṅga*. After that *aṅga* the *taddhita* suffix is added. For the grammatical structure of the rule compare P. 7.3.11-13.

Aṅgasya is continued from P. 6.4.1. We note that from P. 7.3.11 onwards the *KV* does not explicitly continue this word. It only turns up again in the commentary on P. 7.3.14. *Uttarapadānām* is supplied (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) by P. 7.3.10. *Grāmanagarāṇām* discontinues *janapadasya amadrāṇām* from P. 7.3.12 and 13. For *grāma* and *nāgara* see Agrawala ²1963, p. 65-66. The *KV* interprets *prācām* as *prācāṃ deśe*. Compare P. 7.3.24. For *prācām* see Agrawala. p. 39. Here mention is made of commentators who are of the opinion that the boundary between the country of the northerners and the easterners was formed by the river Sarasvatī. *Diśaḥ* is a technical abl. continued from P. 7.3.13. *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.115 and 117. *Ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. The *vidheya* is *vṛddhiḥ*, continued from P. 7.2.114.

We will call the interpretation of the rule given here interpretation A, in distinction from the interpretation given by the *KV* mentioned below, which we will call interpretation B.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *grāma*: *pūrvaiṣukamaśama*, derived in the sense of 'originating/found in East Iṣukāmaśamī,' *aparaiṣukāmaśama* 'originating/found in West

Iṣukāmaśamī,' *pūrvakārṣṇamṛttika* 'originating/found in East Kṛṣṇamṛttikā' and *aparakārṣṇamṛttika* 'originating/found in West Kṛṣṇamṛttikā.' For Iṣukāmaśamī and Kṛṣṇamṛttikā see Agrawala [2] 1963, p. 66. The cps with *pūrva* and *apara* are formed by P. 2.1.50. The *taddhita* suffixes added are *Ña*, by P. 4.2.107 and *vuÑ* by P. 4.2.125. Further apply P. 6.4.148, P. 7.1.1 and P. 7.3.14.

(b) For *nagara*: *pūrvapāṭaliputraka*, derived in the sense of 'originating/found in East Pāṭaliputra,' *aparapāṭaliputraka* 'originating/found in West Pāṭaliputra,' *pūrvakānyakubja* 'originating/found in East Kanyakubja' and *aparakānyakubja* 'originating/found in West Kanyakubja.' For Pāṭaliputraka see Agrawala [2] 1963, p. 75. He locates the *pūrva* town on the Gaṅgā, and the *apara* one on the Son. The *Nyāsa* wonders how we can have two Pātaliputras, since Pāṭaliputra is one place. The solution offered is that the word *pāṭaliputra* stands for a part of Pāṭaliputra. The suffixes added are *vuÑ*, by P. 4.2.123 and *Ña*, by P. 4.2.107. For further derivational details see under (a).

In the examples *ādivṛddhi* by P. 7.2.117 is set aside by *uttarapadavṛddhi* by P. 7.3.14.

4. But if *grāma* includes *nagara*, why have they been mentioned separately in P. 7.3.14? This is the question raised by the *KV*. The answer given is that this has been done in order to make us understand a difference in construction.. The point intended is that the whole, e.g., *pūrveṣukāmaśamī*, including the *dikśabda*, is the name of the village. *Iṣukāmaśamī* by itself is not the name of the village. The village is called *pūrva-* or *apara-iṣukāmaśamī*. But in the case of *nagara*-name the *uttarapada* itself, without the *dikśabda*, states the *nagara*-name. The *nagara* is called *pāṭaliputra*. Here the *dikśabdas pūrva* and *apara* merely indicate a part of the town. The *Nyāsa* expresses this by saying that the *grāmavācin* words are *pūrvottarasamudāyātmaka* 'having the nature of the whole of *pūrva*° and *uttara*(*pada*),' whereas the *nagaravācin* words are *uttarapadātmaka* 'having the nature of the *uttarapada*.'

Thus in the village names the *aṅga* as a whole stands for the name of the village, whereas in the case of town names the *uttarapada* stands for the name of the town. In other words, in the first case, the *aṅga* coincides with the name, in the second case it does not. In respect of adding the *taddhita* suffix this makes no difference. It is added after the whole of the *dikśabda* and the *uttarapada* only.

This is what we call interpretation B. The point intended by the *KV* is curious, because in the case of a *dvandva* the construction of the constituents should

be the same.

5. The difficulty for the *KV* is to explain how interpretation B can be accounted for by construction. As explained by the *Padamañjarī*, the main words figuring in the construction proposed are two *anuvṛtta* words. One is *aṅgasya*, the other is *uttarapadasya*. Here, according to the *KV*, the first word is to be connected with *grāmāṇām*, and the second with *uttarapadasya*. That gives us *grāmāṇām aṅgānam* on the one hand, and *nagaravācinām uttarapadānām* on the other. Both are *samānādhikaraṇa* constructions. The *aṅgas* are the *grāmavācin* words, and the *uttarapadas* are the *nagaravācin* words.

What does the text say? The Benares ed. reads as follows: *Tatra grāmavācinām aṅgānām avayavasya dikśabdād uttarasya ca nagaravācinām uttarapadānām avayavasya vṛddhir bhavatîtyevam abhisaṃbandhaḥ kriyate. Itaratra tu diśa uttareṣām nagarāṇām ity eva*. The Hyderabad ed. drops *ca* after *dikśabdād uttarasya* and adds it after *uttarapadānām avayavasya*. This is an improvement on the text of the Benares ed., because the transposed *ca* provides a connection between the first and second parts of the first sentence. We then translate as follows: 'this being so, *vṛddhi* is applied to a part (like *iṣukāmaśamī*), following after a *dikśabda*, of the *aṅgas* which are *grāmavācin* words, and to a part of the *uttarapadas* which are the *nagaravācin* words, in this way the construction is made. But in the other case (of the *nagaravā*cin words the construction is) *diśaḥ uttareṣām nagarāṇām* "(*vṛddhi* is applied) to *nagara*(-expressing words) coming after a *dikśabda*" only.' In the first sentence the distinction between *grāmavācinām aṅgānām* on the one hand and *nagaravācinām uttarapadānām* on the other is clear. What is not stated clearly is the element which comes after the *dikśabda* in both cases. Both the *grāmavācin* words and the *nagaravācin* words contain a *dikśabda*. In the case of *grāmavācin* words *vṛddhi* is applied to part of an *aṅga* which part follows after a *dikśabda*, whereas in the case of *nagaravācin* words *vṛddhi* is applied to the *nagaravācin* word itself which follows after a *dikśabda*. That is why the *KV* adds the sentence beginning with *itaratra tu*.

We have noted that the Haryana, Bahālagaḍha ed. of Vijayapāla, 1997, p. 779, drastically emends the text of the Benares ed. which must have been considered corrupt. The portion *ca nagaravācinām uttarapadānām avayavasya* from the Benares ed. text is deleted. The translation of the Haryana text is as follows: 'this being so, *vṛddhi* applies to the part (i.e., the *uttarapada*) following after the *dikśabda* of the *aṅgas* which (as a whole) refer to a *grāma*, in this way the connection is made. In the other case (of *nagara*) (*vṛddhi* applies) to the *nagara*(*vācin* words) which follow after a *dikśabda*, in this way only (the connection is made).' The emendation certainly provides a sensible simplified text. But to our opinion it is not required.

The *SK* (*Caukhambā Saṃskṛta Pratiṣṭhāna*, with *Tattvabodhinī*, reprint 1994, p. 257) interprets the rule as follows: *diśaḥ pareṣāṃ nagaravācināṃ grāmavācinām aṅgānām avayavasya ca vṛddhiḥ* '*vṛddhi* is applied to *nagaravācin* words which follow after a *dikśabda*. and to a part of the *aṅgas* which are *grāmavācin* words. Thus it is obvious that the *SK* adopts interpretation B.

6. Why should the *grāmavācin* words be termed *aṅga*? The *aṅga* after which the *taddhita* suffix is added can only be the whole of the *dikśabda* and the *uttarapada*. Therefore, to say that the *grāmavācin* words are *aṅgas* can only make sense, if we assume that as a whole together with the *dikṁabda* they denote the name of a village.

7. What could be the reason for the *KV* to propose interpretation B? Our assumption is that the *KV* wants to justify a later usage regarding names of villages and towns than the usage known to the *sūtrakāra* and Patañjali to whom *grāma* includes *nagara*.

8. The *KV* finally notes that in forms like *pūrvaiṣukāmaśāma*, after *vṛddhi* has been applied, single substitution (by P. 6.1.87) takes place. This we know on account of a clue provided by the prohibition (of *vṛddhi*) by P. 7.3.22. The matter is discussed in *PN*, Pt. I, p. 110-111, by way of introduction to *pbh*. 53. Here the argument is about the form *saumendra*, a *taddhita* form derived by P. 4.2.24 in the sense of 'dedicated to Soma and Indra.' The corresponding *prakriyā*-stage is (*soma* + *indra*) + *aṆ*. Here first sandhi (single substitution) is applied by P. 6.1.87, then *vṛddhi* of the first vowel by P. 7.2.117. Now the question is raised, why not apply P. 7.3.21 (instead of P. 6.1.87)? P. 7.3.21 prescribes *vṛddhi* for the first vowel of both the first and the final constituent of a *devatādvandva*. That would give us the form **saumaindra*. To prevent this form, P. 7.3.22 prohibits the application of P. 7.3.21 for a *devatādvandva* whose final constituent is *indra*. At this stage of the argument it is pointed out that the prohibition of P. 7.3.21 by P. 7.3.22 is purposeless, because with regard to the *vṛddhi*-operation by P. 7.3.21 the *guṇa*-operation by P. 6.1.87 is *antaraṅga*. Therefore this latter operation must take precedence by *PN*, *pbh*. 50. Then should the conclusion be that P. 7.3.22 is redundant? That cannot be. Rules in the A. must be purposeful. To render P. 7.3.22 purposeful, we assume that it offers us a clue. The clue assumed is that, even if the single substitution by P. 6.1.87 is *antaraṅga* with regard to the *vṛddhi*-operation by P. 7.3.21, it does not take precedence with regard to the latter operation. This is what *PN*, *pbh*. 53, amounts to. So P. 7.3.21 prevails over P. 6.1.87.

This is the argument applied to the derivation of *pūrvaiṣukāmaśama* by the *KV*. The derivational stage taken into account is (*pūrva* + *īsukāmaśamī*) + *Ña*. The *taddhita* suffix is added by P. 4.2.107. Here the undesired form is **paurvaisukāmaśama*.

A critical note may be added. The difficulty envisaged by *PN*, *pbh*. 53, results from the *krameṇa anvākhyāna* view, literally, the step-by-step method of explaining the working of the A., adopted by Kātyāyana. Compare *AP* X, p. 182-183, and *AP* XI, P. 7.2.107 (b), under 7 and 9. The difficulty does not arise in the *padasaṃskāra* view. According to this view, we place all elements required for the derivation of the *pada* side by side, and then start applying rules. The derivation of *pūrvaiṣukāśama* then is as follows:

(1)(((*pūrva* + *sU*) + (*isukāmaśamī* + *sU*)) + *Ña*))) + *sU* P. 2.1.50; 4.2.107
(2)(((*pūrva* + °) + (*isukāmaśamī* + °)) + *a*))) + *s* P. 2.4.71

At this stage two rules become applicable. They are P. 6.1.87 (*guṇaikādeśa*) and P. 7.3.14. According to *PN*, *pbh*. 55, an *āṅga* rule prevails over a *vārṇa* rule. That is to say, a rule prescribes in the *aṅga* section prevails over a rule prescribed in the *saṃhitā* section. Therefore we continue:

(3)(((*pūrva* + *aiṣukāmaśamī*)) + *a*))) + *s* P. 7.3.14
(4)(*pūrvaiṣakāmaśamī*) + *s* P. 6.1.88
(5)(*pūrvaiṣukāmaśam°*) + *s* P. 6.4.148
pūrvaiṣukāmaśamas.

The word *krameṇa* 'step by step' in the expression *krameṇa anvākhyāna* should not give rise to a misunderstanding. The *padasaṃskāra* method also goes step by step. But the difference lies in the initial stages of the *prakriyā*. In the *krameṇa anvākhyāna* view first the stem is separately derived. Only then *taddhita* suffixes and case endings are added.

9. We have no *Vt*. on the rule, but there is a *bhāṣya*. Here Patañjali does not discuss the construction of the words in the rule, but the meaning of the words *grāma* and *nagara*. He raises the question whether we cannot manage by phrasing the rule as *pracāṃ grāmāṇām* simply, without mentioning *nagara*. According to Agrawala [2]1963, p. 65, Pāṇini mentions villages and towns of the country of the Easterners separately, but with reference to the *Vāhīka* and *Udīcya* country of the North-West he uses the term *grāma* in a general sense which includes *nagara*.

Reference is to P. 4.2.109 and 117. Agrawala concludes that in the Eastern parts the distinction between *grāma* and *nagara* was more sharp.

Patañjali's argument goes as follows. Suppose, someone asks: from which *grāma* do you come? It is anwered: not from a *grāma*, but from a *nagara*. But don't you know, sir, that that *grāma* and *nagara* are one and the same thing? How is that known? From daily usage. For rules which are not desired for a *grāma* item are still less so for a *nagara* item. To explain, when it is said *abhakṣyo grāmyakukkuṭo 'bhaksyo grāmyasūkaraḥ* 'a *grāmya* cock is not to be eaten, a *grāmya* pig is not to be eaten' (then) still more so a *nagara* (cock or pig) is not eaten. For a reference of the statement quoted see *PASPA*, n. 493. In other words, if it is said *grāma*, that includes *nagara* also. But later on in the text Patañjali acknowledges four different types of settlement. They are *grāma*, *ghoṣa* 'a settlement of cowherds' *nagara* and *saṃvāha* 'market place.'

The conclusion is that, since anyway in the country of the Easterners *grāma* includes *nagara*, the mention of *grāmanagara* in P. 7.3.14 is meant to give us a clue. Which clue? Reference is made to P. 2.4.7, actually to *Vt*. II on this rule. See *AP* VIII, p. 14. The *Vt*. says that in the case of a *dvandva* formed of both the name of a village and a town the prohibition for village names does not apply to town names. Three other instances of *sūtras* are referred to (P. 4.2.109, 117 and P. 6.2.103) in which *grāma* does include *nagara*. But Patañjali cautions against insisting too much (*atinirbandha*) on a distinction between *grāma* and *nagara*.

7.3.15 SAṂKHYĀYĀḤ SAṂVATSARASAṂKHYASYA CA 'also (*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among vowels) of (the *uttarapada saṃvatsara* "year" or (an *uttarapada* signifying) *saṃkhyā* "number," preceded by (a word signifying) number (and belonging to a nominal base *aṅga*, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ or *K* follows immediately)'

1. P. 7.3.15 is a *vidhisūtra* prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowel of an *uttarapada* as qualified, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃvatsarasaṃkhyasya* (*aṅgasya uttarapadasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *uttarapadasya*, which is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*, is subject to three conditions. First, the *uttarapada* must be *saṃvatsara* or a *saṃkhyāvācin* word. *Uttarapadasya* stands in a *samādhikaraṇa* relation with *saṃvatsarasaṃkhyasya*. Secondly, it must be preceded by a numeral, which serves as the *pūrvapada*. In the third place, it must be part of an *aṅga*. *Aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *uttarapadasya*. Together, the *pūrvapada* and the

uttarapada form a cp. which is the *aṅga*. For the grammatical structure of the rule compare P. 7.3.11-14.

Aṅgasya is continued from P. 6.4.1. The *KV* does not explicitly continue it. *Uttarapadasya* is supplied by P. 7.3.10. *Saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃvatsarasaṃkhyasya* discontinues *prācāṃ grāmanagarāṇām* from P. 7.3.14. *Saṃkhyāyāḥ* is a technical abl. *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. The *vidheya* is *vṛddhiḥ*, continued from P. 7.2.114.

The particle *ca* in the rule has no boundary function, but has been redundantly added.

3. The example quoted by the *KV* for the constituent *saṃvatsara* is *dvisāṃvatsarika*. For derivation and meaning the *KV* refers to P. 5.1.80. This rule prescribes the *taddhita* suffix *ṭhaÑ* in four senses. Thus *dvisāṃvatsarika* means 'invited with respect/hired/lasted/will last for two years.' *ṬHaÑ* is replaced by *ika*, by P. 7.3.50. The final *a* of *saṃvatsara* is deleted by P. 6.4.148.

The examples quoted by the *KV* for the *saṃkhyā* constituents are is *dviṣāṣṭika*, derived in the sense of *dve ṣaṣṭī adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā* 'invited/hired/lasted or will last for 62 (years)' and *dvisāptatika* 'invited, etc. for 72 (years).' The cps. *dviṣaṣṭi* and *dvisaptati* are the less preferred forms in relation to forms with *dvā*, according to P. 6.3.49.

4. How can we add the suffix *ṭhaÑ* which should come after a word signifying a period of time (P. 5.1.78, *kālāt*) after a numeral? The *KV* answers this question by saying that the words *ṣaṣṭi* or *saptati* in the cps do not represent a numeral (*saṃkhyā*), but stand for a *saṃkhyeya* 'countable object ' A day or a year can be an object counted. That is why the *taddhita* derivations concerned can be brought under the *kālādhikāra* which opens with P. 5.1.78.

5. Another question is, why is the mention of *saṃvatsara* required in the rule? Why not include it under *parimāṇa* in P. 7.3.17? This is the point raised by *Vt*. I on the rule. The *KV*, following the first part of the *bhāṣya* on *Vt*. II on P. 7.3.15, answers the question by saying that *parimāṇa* means a measure of weight, not a measure of time (*kālaparimāṇa*). Therefore *vṛddhi* (by P. 7.3.17) is not applied to the first vowel of the *uttarapada* in *dvaisamika* 'hired for two years' and *traisamika* 'hired for three years.' The examples are borrowed from Patañjali. For *parimāṇa* see Agrawala [2] 1963, p. 251.

Also, *vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the *uttarapada* is not applied in *dvivarṣā/trivarṣā māṇavikā* 'a girl hired for two year/three years.' Here reference is to P. 4.1.22. This rule says that the fem. suffix *ṄīP* is not added after a *dvigu* cp. ending in word signifying *parimāṇa*, when a *taddhita* suffix has been deleted. The cps *dvivarṣa* and *trivarṣa* are *dvigu* cps formed by P. 2.1.51. The suffix *ṭhaÑ*, added by P. 5.1.80 is deleted by P. 5.1.89. The point of the examples is to show that that *dvivarṣa* and *trivarṣa* are *aparimāṇa* words. The negative particle here is explained in the sense of *paryudāsa* 'exclusion,' in the sense of 'other than *parimāṇa*.' Since words signifying a measure of time do not come under the meaning category *parimāṇa*, the application of *ṄīP* by P. 4.1.21 is prohibited. Since *ṄīP* is prohibited, we apply the suffix *ṬāP* by P. 4.1.4. The examples quoted serve as an additional proof that *kālaparimāṇavācin* words cannot be taken to stand for a *parimāṇa*.

6. We have two *Vts* on the rule. *Vt*. I says that the mention of the word *saṃvatsara* in the rule is redundant, because it has already been covered by (the memtion of) the word *parimāṇāntasya* (in P. 7.3.17).

Vt. II says that the statement of redundancy of *saṃvatsara* in *Vt*. I offers us a clue, namely, that a prohibition of *vṛddhi* applies to words signifying *kālaparimāṇa* 'a measure/stretch of time.'

Patañjali provides two interpretations of the clue mentioned by *Vt*. II. The first interpretation says that this *Vt*. gives us the clue that *vṛddhi* is not applied to words signifying a *kālaparimāṇa*. Among the examples quoted here are *dvaisāmika* and *traisāmika*. Whereas the first interpretation is about *vṛddhi*, the second interpretation, attributed to *apara* 'another (grammarian),' amounts to a general rule. It says that the clue consists in this that *parimāṇānta* words do not include a word signifying a *kālaparimāṇa* anywhere in grammar. Therefore the word *aparimāṇa* in P. 4.1.22 does not exclude words signifying a *kālaparimāṇa*. Accordingly, the suffix *ṄīP*, applicable by P. 4.1.21, is prohibited in the examples *dvivarṣā* and *trivarṣā*. For further details see under 5, above.

7.3.16 VARṢASYĀBHAVIṢYATI '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among vowels) of (the *uttarapada*) *varṣa* "year," (preceded by a numeral and belonging to a nominal base *aṅga*, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately) except when (the cp. is used in) the sense of *bhaviṣyat* "the future" '

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowel of the *uttarapada varṣa* as qualified, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *varṣasya* (*aṅgasya saṃkhyāyāḥ uttarapadasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *uttarapadasya*, which is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*, is subject to three conditions. First, the *uttarapada* must be the word *varṣa*. *Uttarapadasya* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *varṣasya*. Secondly, it must be preceded by a numeral, which serves as the *pūrvapada*. In the third place, it must be part of an *aṅga*. *Aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *uttarapadasya*. Together, the *pūrvapada* and the *uttarapada* form a cp. which is the *aṅga*. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*) *abhaviṣyati*. *Vṛddhiḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.114. For the grammatical structure of the rule compare P. 7.3.11-15.

Aṅgasya is continued from P. 6.4.1, although the *KV* does not explicitly say so. *Saṃkhyāyāḥ*, a technical abl., is continued from P. 7.3.15. *Uttarapadasya* is supplied by P. 7.3.10. *Varṣasya* discontinues *saṃvatsarasaṃkhyasya* from the same rule. *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. *Abhaviṣyati* is a meaning condition stated in the loc. *Bhaviṣyat* 'future' is a non-technical term borrowed from daily usage. As a meaning condition in the loc. it is used in P. 3.3.3. The cp. *abhaviṣyat* is a *nañtatpuruṣa* formed by P. 2.2.6. The *vidheya* is *vṛddhiḥ*, continued from P. 7.2.114.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *dvivārṣika* 'invited with respect/ hired/lasted/will last for two years 'and *trivārṣika* 'invited, etc., for three years.' The *taddhita* suffix is *ṭhaÑ* by P. 5.1.80. See further P. 7.3.15, under 3.

4. To point out the significance of the condition *abhaviṣyati*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *traivarṣika*. For its use a (non-identified) passage is quoted, namely, *yasya traivarṣikaṃ dhānyaṃ nihitaṃ bhṛtyavṛttaye adhikaṃ vāpi vidyeta sa somaṃ pātum arhati* 'whose grain lasting for three years or even more has been stored for the sustainance of his servants, he deserves to drink *soma*.' Since here the sense of the future is implied, *vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the *uttarapada* by P. 7.3.16 is not allowed. Therefore the *taddhita* form takes *vṛddhi* applied to its first vowel by P. 7.2.117.

5. But what about a usage like *dvivārṣiko manuṣyaḥ* which is taken to mean *dve varṣe adhīṣṭo bhṛto vā karma kariṣyati* 'invited with respect or hired for two years he will do work.' Why not *dvaivarṣa* by P. 5.1.89 and P. 7.2.117? The *KV* explains that the prohibition *abhaviṣyati* is not meant to exclude the meanings *adhīṣṭa* 'invited with respect' and *bhṛta* 'hired' mentioned by P. 5.1.80. The reason given is that in these meanings futurity is already understood. It is not part of the *taddhita* meaning, but of the sentence meaning stated by means of a meaning paraphrase. The conclusion is that in the two senses mentioned P. 7.3.16 applies.

Why in these two senses? The *Nyāsa* explains as follows. The *taddhita* suffix *ṭhaÑ* prescribed by P. 5.1.80 in the senses of *adhīṣṭa* and *bhṛta* will be invariably *luk*-deleted by the *nitya* rule P. 5.1.89, when reference is to a conscious being (*cittavati*). We note that the meanings *adhīṣṭa* and *bhṛta* necessarily refer to a human being. So, instead of *dvivārṣika*, etc., we can only derive *dvivarṣa* in the sense of *dve varṣe adhīṣṭaḥ/bhṛtaḥ* 'invited with respect/hired for two years.' The previous rule, P. 5.1.88, prescribes *luk*-deletion of *thaÑ* after a cp. with *varṣa* as the *uttarapada* optionally (preferably), when the sense of *nirvṛtta* 'accomplished' is conveyed. Since we can have the optional *luk*-deletion of the suffix by P. 5.1.88, the *Nyāsa* concludes that the mention of *nitya* in P. 5.1.89 applies with with regard to special meanings only. That is to say, it applies when the senses of *bhūta* and *bhāvin* are conveyed, but not when the senses of *adhīṣṭa* and *bhṛta* are conveyed. With regard to these two senses P. 5.1.89 must be considered optional. That is how we can justify the usage *dvivārṣiko manuṣyaḥ*. We have included the *Nyāsa* passage, not because of its intrinsic grammatical value, but as a sample of a commentator's reasoning when accomodating a deviant usage. Actually, the argument presented by the *Nyāsa* is wrong.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.17 PARIMĀṆĀNTASYĀSAMJÑĀŚĀṄAYOḤ '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among the vowels) of (an *uttarapada* (preceded by a numeral, and belonging to a nominal base *aṅga*) ending in a word signifying *parimāṇa* "measure (of weight)", (provided that a suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ or *K* follows immediately) except if a *saṃjñā* "a word conveying an idiomatic sense" or (the word) *śāṇa* "a particular weight" is denoted'

1. This is a *vidhsisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowel of an *uttarapada* as qualified on the conditions stated

2. The *uddeśya* is *parimāṇāntasya* (*aṅgasya saṃkhyāyāḥ uttarapadasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *uttarapadasya*, which is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*, is qualified twice. First, it must be preceded by a numeral, which serves as the *pūrvapada*. In the second place, it must be part of an *aṅga*. *Aṅgasya*, supplied by the *KV*, is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *uttarapadasya*. In addition, *aṅgasya* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with the *bv.* cp. *parimāṇāntasya*. The *aṅga* must end in a word signifying *parimāṇa*. In other words, the *uttarapada* must be a *parimāṇavācin* word. For the meaning of *parimāṇa* see P. 7.3.15, under 5. Together, the *pūrvapada* and the *uttarapada* form a cp. which

is the *aṅga*. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*) *asaṃjñaśāṇayoḥ*. Here *vṛddhiḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.114.

Aṅgasya is continued from P. 6.4.1, although the *KV* does not explicitly say so. *Saṃkhyāyāḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.15. *Uttarapadasya* is supplied by P. 7.3.10. *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. *Parimāṇāntasya asaṃjñāśaṇayoḥ* discontinues *varṣasyābhaviṣyati* from P. 7.3.17. *Asaṃjñaśāṇayoḥ* is a meaning condition stated in the loc. The *taddhita* form derived should not be a word conveying an idiomatic sense. Also, the word *śāṇa* should not be denoted, namely, by the *uttarapada* of the *aṅga*. Here *śāṇa* stands for its own form. That is to say, *śāṇa* should not be the *uttarapada* of the cp. For the meaning of *śāṇa* see Agrawala [2]1963, p. 264.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *dvikauḍavika*, derived in the sense of *dvau kuḍavau prayojanam asya* 'that whose purpose is (to measure) two *kuḍavas*,' that is, amounting to two *kuḍavas*, *dvisauvarṇika*, derived in the sense of *dvābhyāṃ suvarṇābhyāṃ krītam* 'bought for two *suvarṇas*' and *dvinaiṣkika*, derived in the sense of *dvābhyāṃ niṣkābhyāṃ krītam* 'bough for two *niṣkas*.' For *kuḍava* see Agrawala, *o.c.*, p. 252-2523, and for *suvarṇa* and *niṣka* p. 259-262.

Dvikauḍavika is technically derived as ((*dvi* + *au*) + (*kuḍava* + *au*)) + *ṭhaÑ*. The *dvigu* cp.is formed by P. 2.1.51 The suffix *ṭhaÑ* is added by P. 5.1.18 .and replaced by *ika*, by P. 7.3.50. The case endings are deleted by P. 2.4.71. The final *a* of the cp. stem is deleted by P. 6.4.148. *Vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the *uttarapada* is applied by P. 7.3.17.

In the derivation of *dvisauvarṇika* the deletion of the *taddhita* suffix *ṭhaÑ* prescribed after a *dvigu* cp. by P. 5.1.28 is not applied because, according to *Vt* I on P. 5.1.29, *luk*-deletion is optional, if the *uttarapada* is *suvarṇa*. Thus we have both *dvisuvarṇa* and *dvisauvarṇika*. We note that after *luk*-deletion has taken place an operation prescribed in the *aṅga*-section, like *ādivṛddhi* by P. 7.2.117 is no longer applicable.

In the derivation of *dvinaiṣkika* the *taddhita* suffix *ṭhaK* is added in the sense prescribed by P. 5.1.37. *Luk*-deletion of the suffix is declared optional (*vibhāṣā*) by P. 5.1.30. Thus we have both *dviniṣka* and *dvinaiṣkika*.

4. To point out the significance of the condition *asaṃjñaśāṇayoḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *pāñcalohitika* 'whose (weight) measure is five *lohinīs*' and *pāñcakalāpika* 'whose (weight) measure is five potsherds.' The fem. of

lohita becomes *lohinī* with optional *ṄīP* by P. 4.1.39. The point is that *pañcalohinī* and *pañcakapāla* are names of things. The *KV* says that the *taddhita* suffix *ṭhaK* is added after having split the rule as *tad asya parimāṇam*. In fact, in the present edition of the A. *tad asya parimāṇam* occurs as an independent rule (P. 5.1.57). But, according to the *KV*, the original rule must have read P. 5.1.57 and 58 as a single rule. In *pāñcalohitika*, analysed as *pañca lohinyaḥ parimaṇam asya*, the form *lohita* is due to *puṃvadbhāva* by *Vt*. XI on P. 6.2.35, *bhasyāḍhe taddhite* "when a *taddhita* suffix other than *ḍha* follows, (*puṃvadbhāva*) of the (preceding) *bha*(-stem takes place).'

In *dvaiśāṇa/traiśāṇa* 'bought for two/three *śāṇas*' the *taddhita* suffix *aṆ* is added by P. 5.1.36. It is optionally (*vā*) deleted by P. 5.1.35. Thus we have both *dvaiśāṇa/traiśāṇa* and *dviśāṇa/triśāṇa*. Once *luk*-deletion has taken place, a rule prescribed in the *aṅga*-section is no longer applicable, by P. 1.1.63. Thus we we derive *dviśāṇa*, etc. *Śāṇa* obviously remains *śāṇa*, whether *vṛddhi* is applied or not. But the point is that when *uttarapadavṛddhi* is applied, even by replacing *ā* by *ā*, it sets aside *pūrvapadavṛddhi*. Compare also *PN*, *pbh*. 111, *parjanyaval lakṣaṇapravṛttiḥ*.

5. The *KV* mentions that some (*kecid*) add the word *kulija* in the exception. This enables us to derive a word like *dvaikulijika* in the sense of 'whose purpose is (to measure) two *kulijas*'. The suffix added is *ṭhaÑ* by P. 5.1.109. For *kulija* see Agrawala [2]1963, p. 254. The use of *kecid* usually indicates disapproval.

7.3.18 JE PROṢṬHAPADĀNĀM '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among the vowels) of (the *uttarapadas proṣṭhapada* "name of a constellation," etc. (belonging to a nominal base *aṅga*, if a *taddhita* suffix) conveying the sense of 'born under' (and marked with Ñ, Ṇ or K follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowel of *proṣṭhapadā* and its sysnonyms, when used as the *uttarapada* of an *aṅga*, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *je proṣṭhapadānām* (*aṅgānām uttarapadasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). *Je* is a meaning condition stated in the loc. It has been taken as part of the *uddeśya*, because the condition concerns the meaning of a suffix, not a full word, like in *asaṃjñāśāṇayoḥ* in P. 7.3.17. The *KV* explains *je* as *jātārthe* 'if the sense of *jāta* "born" is conveyed.' According to the *Nyāsa*, the word *ja* is a short form (*padaikadeśa*) used for *jāta*, like people use *bhīma* for *bhīmasena*, or *bhāmā* for *satyabhāmā*. Reference is to Patañjali (*Mbh*. I, p. 111, line 24).

The form *proṣṭhapada* has been mentioned as a ready-made *bv*. cp. in P. 5.4.120. For *proṣṭhapadā* or *proṣṭhapada* see Agrawala ²1963, p. 176. For the use of the plural to indicate synonyms see *ATA*, Note (145) on P. 2.1.40. *Aṅgānām*, which is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *uttarapadasya*, is continued (with *vibhakti-vipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *proṣṭhapadānām*. *Uttarapadasya* is qualified only once, namely, by *aṅgānām*. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*. *Acaḥ* is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. *Saṃkhyāyāḥ* from P. 7.3.15 is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. *Je proṣṭhapadānām* discontinues *parimāṇāntasya asaṃjñāśānayoḥ* from P. 7.3.17. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*), continued from P. 7.2.114.

3. The *KV* explains that the *taddhita* suffix *aṆ* is added to *proṣṭhapada* in the sense of a time connected with the constellation by P. 4.2.3. According to P. 4.2.4, the suffix is *lup*-deleted, when there is no reference to a specific time. Reference is also made to the suffix *aṆ* prescribed by P. 4.3.16. The *śaiṣika* sense required in the present context is *tatra jātaḥ* 'born in/under that.'

4. The example quoted by the *KV* is *proṣṭhapādo māṇavakaḥ* 'a boy born under the constellation *proṣṭhapada*.' It has already been mentioned in the *KV* on P. 7.3.10. See this rule, under 5.

5. To point out the significance of the condition *je* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *prauṣṭhapada*, derived in the sense of *proṣṭhapadāsu bhavaḥ* 'occurring under the *proṣṭhapada* constellation.' Here the *taddhita* suffix used is *aṆ* prescribed in the (*śaiṣika*) sense of *tatra bhavaḥ* 'located, occurring there' by P. 4.3.53. Since the sense of 'born under' is not conveyed, *vṛddhi* is applied to the *pūrvapada* by P. 7.2.117. In support of the derivation stated the *KV* quotes an unidentified passage reading *yadā prauṣṭhapado megho dharaṇīm abhivarṣati* 'when the cloud occurring during the *proṣṭhapada* constellation showers the earth.'

6. Finally, the *KV* points out that the use of the plural in *proṣṭhapadānām* is meant to include synonyms also, like *bhadrapāda*.

7. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.19 HṚD-BHAGA-SINDHV-ANTE PŪRVAPADASYA CA '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among the vowels of the *uttarapada*) and also of the *pūrvapada* (in a nominal base *aṅga*), ending in *hṛd* "heart," *bhaga* "good fortune" or *sindhu* "name of a region," (and provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ or K follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel not only for the first vowel of the *uttarapada*, but also for that of the *pūrvapada* of an *aṅga*, on the conditions stated. Thus what we have here is *ubhayapada-vṛddhi*.

2. The *uddeśya* is *hṛdbhagasindhvante* (*aṅgasya uttarapadasya*) *pūrvapadasya ca* (*acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). *Hṛdbhagasindhvante* is a condition stated in the loc. It is a *bv*. cp. in connection with which the *KV* supplies *aṅge*. *Hṛd* is substituted for *hṛdaya* by P. 6.3.50. It discontinues *proṣṭhapadānām* from P. 7.3.18. *Aṅge* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *hṛdbhagasindhvante*. It also replaces the usual *avayavaṣaṣṭhī aṅgasya* in connection with *uttarapadasya* and *pūrvapadasya* with a loc. relation. *Uttarapadasya* and *pūrvapadasya* are *avayavaṣaṣṭhīs* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*. *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. *Acaḥ* is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*), continued from P. 7.2.114.

For the construction °*ante* (*aṅge*) compare the *KV* on P. 7.3. 24. In connection with °*antasya* in P. 7.3.17 and 25 the *KV* supplies *aṅgasya*. We have to keep in mind that in the *aṅgādhikāra*, in which *aṅga* is an *upadeśa* term, the form *aṅge* should represent a technical loc. But this is not possible in the °*ante* (*aṅge*) construction of the *KV*.

A comparison of P. 7.3.19 and 24 with the corresponding rules in the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* (C. 6.1.29 and 34; ed. K.Ch. Chatterji, Poona 1961, Part II, p. 274, 276) shows that Candragomin does not use °*ante*. He phrases the rules concerned as *hṛdbhagasindhoḥ pūrvasya ca* and *prācāṃ nagarasya*. Similarly, for *jaṅgaladhenu valajāntasya* in P. 7.3.25 Candragomin (C. 6.1.35) says *jaṅgaladhenuvalajasya*. Here the words mentioned represent *uttarapadas*. °*Anta* is not used at all. In Pāṇini's grammar the *bv*. cps in °*anta* refer to the *aṅga*, which is the cp. form as a whole.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *sauhārdam*, derived in the sense of *suhṛdayasya idam* 'this belongs to one possessing a good heart,' *sauhārdyam*, derived in the sense of *suhṛdayasya bhāvaḥ* 'the state of one having a good heart,' *saubhāgyam*, derived in the sense of *subhagasya bhāvaḥ* 'the state of one enjoying good fortune,' *saubhāgineyaḥ*, derived in the sense of *subhagāyāḥ apatyam* 'descendant of a woman

who enjoys good fortune' and *daurbhāgineyaḥ* 'descendant of a woman having bad luck.' The suffixes used are successively *aṆ* by P. 4.3.120, *ṢyaÑ* (twice) by P. 5.1.123, and *ḍhaK* preceded by the final vowel substitute *inAṄ* by P. 4.1.126, and replaced by *ey* by P. 7.1.2.

4. The *KV* notes that the word *subhaga* also occurs in the *udgātṛgaṇa* of P. 5.1.129. Here no. 14 reads *subhaga mantre*. That is to say, in the *mantra* literature *subhaga* takes the suffix *aṆ* in the sense of *bhāva* 'state.' For *mantre* see *AP* VIII, P. 2.4.80, under 3 and 5. In the *mantra* passage *mahate saubhagāya* 'to a great fortunate woman' *vṛddhi* of the *pūrvapada* vowel is applied by P. 7.2.117, but *vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the *uttarapada* by P. 7.3.19 is not. The reason is that rules regarding Vedic usage are optional. Compare the expression *dṛṣṭānuvidhiḥ chandasi* for which see *AP* IX, P. 6.4.128, under 4.

5. The *KV* finally notes that the word *sindhu* is read in the *kacchādi-gaṇa* on P. 4..2.133. This rule prescribes the *taddhita* (*śaiṣika*) suffix *aṆ* .The difficulty is that this suffix cannot be added to the cps *saktusindhu* and *pānasindhu*. These are forms ending in *sindhu, PN, pbh.* 31, prohibits the application of the *tadantavidhi* for words stated in a rule. For the argument see P. 7.3.11, under 4. Then how to derive the forms *sāktusaindhava* 'occurring/located in Saktusindhu' and *pānasaindhava* 'occurring/located in Pānasiṅdhu'? For the names mentioned see Agrawala [2] 1963, p. 112. The *Nyāsa* explains that in order to justify these forms the *KV* has recourse to the word *ca* in P. 4.2.133. This word is taken to convey the sense of *anuktasamuccaya* 'adding/including something which has not been actually stated (in a rule).' Compare the *KV* on P. 2.4.18. In this way *saktusindhu* and *pānasindhu* become included in P. 4.2.133. Accordingly, *aṆ* can be added, and we derive the forms desired.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.20 ANUŚATIKĀDĪNĀṂ CA 'also (*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among the vowels of the *uttarapada* and of the *pūrvapada* of the nominal base *aṅgas*) beginning with *anuśatika* "accompanied by one bought for one hundred," provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ or *K* follows immediately'.

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowels of both the *uttarapada* and the *pūrvapada* of the *aṅgas* mentioned, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *anuśatikādīnām* (*aṅgānām uttarapadasya pūrvapadasya ca acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). *Aṅgānām*, which is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *uttarapadasya* and *pūrvapadasya*, is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *anuśatikādīnām*. *Anuśatikādīnām* discontinues *hṛdbhagasindhvante* from P. 7.3.19. *Uttarapadasya pūrvapadasya ca*, which are *avayavaṣaṣṭhīs* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*, is continued as a whole from P. 7.1.19 *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. *Acaḥ* is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*), continued from P. 7.2.114.

According to Böhtlingk's edition of the *gaṇapāṭha*, *anuśatikādi* is an *ākṛtigaṇa* 'sample list' containing 22 stems to which the *KV* adds seven more,. The actual count is somewhat different. The *anuśatika-gaṇa* contains 19 items. To these the *KV* adds five more from different sources, and then quotes still another four examples to show that the *anuśatika-gaṇa* is an *ākṛtigaṇa*

The particle *ca* serves to show that *vṛddhi* also applies to the first voewl of the *uttarapada*, like in P. 7.3.19.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* have been divided into seven groups The first group contains five examples, four of them containing *anu* as the *pūrvapada*. The examples are:

(1) *anuśatika*. The form derived is *ānuśātika*. The *Nyāsa* explains the derivation as follows: First, we derive *śatika* in the sense of *śatena krītaḥ* ' bought for one hundred' by adding the suffix *ṭhaN* by P. 5.1.21. Then we form the *tp*. cp. *anuśatika* in the sense of *anugataḥ śatikena* 'accompanied by one bought for one hundred' by *Saunāgavārttika* G[7] on P. 2.2.18. See *TA*, p. *194*. Finally, we derive *ānuśātika* with the help of the *taddhita* suffix *aṆ* by P. 4.3.120 in ṭhe sense of 'this belongs to x.' The resulting meaning would be 'belonging to one who is accompanied by one bought for one hundred.' *Ubhayapadavṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.3.20. One wonders whether the meaning explanation given is based on actual usage.

Why does the *Nyāsa* bring in the *Saunāgavārttika*? Why not start from the *avyayībhāva* cp. *anuśatam* 'along with one hundred' formed by P. 2.1.5-6? Here the ending *am* can be deleted before a suffix by the statement *avyayānāṃ bhamātre ṭilopaḥ*. See P. 7.3.4, under 4 (5). The difficulty here is that we cannot directly add *ika* (*ṭhaÑ*) to *anuśata*, because that is prohibited by *Vt*. III on P. 1.1.72. This *Vt*. prohibits the application of the *tadantavidhi* in the case of cp.-formation and suffixation. Presumably, that is why the *Nyāsa* opted for the roundabout way of the *Saunāgavārttika*.

(2) *anuhoḍika*. The form derived is *ānuhauḍika*. The *Nyāsa* explains that the *taddhita* suffix *ṭhaK* is added by 4.4.8. in the sense of 'one who moves by means of that.' The resulting meaning may be 'one who moves by a cart.' For further details see under (1).

(3) *anusaṃvaraṇa* The form derived is *ānusāṃvaraṇa*. The *Nyāsa* provides no explanation. We assume that the suffix *aṆ* is added in the sense prescribed by P. 4.3.120. The resulting meaning is 'belonging to an enclosure.' The explanation provided by the *Padamañjarī* seems to be due to a mix-up with the next example.

(4) *anusaṃvatsara*. The form derived is *ānusāṃvatsarika* The *Nyāsa* explains that after the formation of the cp. the suffix *ṭhaÑ* is added by P. 4.3.67 on the basis of the extending the grammatical operation prescribed by P. 5.1.96. This latter rule prescribes a *taddhita* suffix in the sense of 'it is given or it is to be done in that (period).' Thus *ānusāṃvatsarika* means 'it is to be done within a year.'

(5) *aṅgāraveṇu*. The form derived is *āṅgāravaiṇava*. The *Nyāsa* explains that the *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ* in the sense of 'descendant,' by P. 4.1.92. The resulting meaning is 'a descendant of Aṅgāraveṇu.' *Ubhayapadavṛddhi* by P. 7.3.20, *guṇa* of *u* by P. 6.4.146.

The second group consists of just one stem with variant readings. The stem concerned is:

(6) *asihatya*. The form derived is *āsihātya*. The *Nyāsa* explains that the *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ* in the sense of 'occurring/located there' by P. 4.3.53. Thus the meaning is 'where fighting with swords occurs.' According to the *KV* some grammarians (*kecid*) read *asyahatya* 'non-killing with a sword' instead. In that case, the suffix added is *aṆ* by P. 5.2.61, and the meaning is 'a section (of a Vedic text) in which the word *asyahatya* is used.' Still others (*apare*) read *asyaheti* which gives us *āsyahaitika*. Here the suffix added is *ṭhaÑ* prescribed in the sense of *prayojana* 'purpose' by P. 5.1.109. Thus the resulting meaning is 'whose purpose is weapon to be thrown.' The *KV* adds that, therefore, that is, since *asyaheti* has been mentioned in the *anuśatika-gaṇa*, the whole of the two *prātipadikas asya* and *heti* must be regarded as a single *prātipadika*. That is why, on the strength of its mention, *luk*-deletion of the case ending by P. 2.4.71 is not applied. Then does the *KV* consider *asya* to be a case formation? In that case, the resulting meaning would be 'whose purpose is (to be) his missile/weapon.' Tradition appears to be rather confused on the derivation of *āsyahātya* and *āsyahaitika*.

The third group contains five stems. They are:

(7) *vadhyoga*. The form derived is *vādhyauga*. The *Nyāsa* explains that the *taddhita* suffix added is *aÑ* in the sense of an immediate descendant by P. 4.1.104. The resulting meaning is 'an immediate descendant of Vadhyoga.'

(8) *puṣkarasad*.

(9) *anuharat*.

The *KV* notices that these stems have been mentioned in the *bāhvādi-gaṇa* on P. 4.1.96. The *Nyāsa* explains that the *taddhita* suffix added is *iÑ* conveying the sense of 'descendant.' The resulting forms are *pauṣkarasāti* and *ānuhāriti*, and the resulting meanings are 'a descendant of Puṣkarasat' and 'a descendant of Anuharat' respectively.

(10) *kurukat*. The form derived is *kaurukātya*. For the derivation the *KV* refers to the *gargādi-gaṇa* (P. 4.1.105). The *taddhita* suffix added is *yaÑ* conveying the sense of a *gotra* 'third generation' descendant. The resulting meaning is 'a grand-son or later descendant of Kurukat.'

(11) *kurupañcāla*. The form derived is *kaurupāñcāla*. The *Nyāsa* explains that the *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ* in the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ* prescribed by P. 4.3.53. The resulting meaning is 'occurring/located in the Kurupañcala territory.' The *KV* explains that here the suffix *vuÑ* by P. 4.2.124 is not added, because a group of *janapadas* is not included in the word *janapada* in this rule. Here, apparently, the *KV* quotes a statement known from tradition.

(12) *udakaśuddha*. The form derived is *audakaśauddhi*. The *Nyāsa* explains that the suffix added is *iÑ* prescribed in the snese of 'descendant' by P. 4.1.95. The resulting meaning is 'a descendant of Udakaśuddha.'

The fourth group contains seven examples, three of them ending in *loka* and three beginning with *sarva*. They are:

(13) *ihaloka*. The form derived is *aihalaukika*. The *Nyāsa* explains that the suffix added is *ṭhaÑ*, prescribed by P. 5.1.44 in the sense of 'known therein.' The resulting meaning is 'known in this world.' *Ubhayapadavṛddhi* by P. 7.3.20.

(14) *paraloka*. The form derived is *pāralaukika*. The resulting meaning is 'known in the other world.' See further under (13). *Aihalaukika* and *pāralaukika* are

mentioned by Patañjali in his *bhāṣya* on *Ślokavt*. I on P. 4.3.60 (*Mbh*. II, p. 310, line 15).

(15) *sarvaloka*. The form derived is *sārvalaukika* According to the *KV*, the suffix added is *ṭhaÑ* like in (13) and (14). The resulting meaning is 'known in all worlds.'

(16) *sarvapuruṣa*. The form derived is *sārvapauruṣa*. According to the *KV*, the suffix added is *aṆ*, prescribed by P. 4.1.120 in the sense of 'belonging to.' The resulting meaning is 'belonging to all men.'

(17) *sarvabhūmi*. The form derived is *sārvabhauma*. The *KV* explains that the suffix added is *aṆ*, prescribed in the sense of a cause of something when the question is of a connection or of an omen by P. 5.1.41. The resulting meaning is 'a cause for the whole earth when the question is of a connection or an omen.' The *Nyāsa* refers to P. 5.1.41, which specifically mentions the stem *sarvabhūmi*.

(18) *prayoga*. The form derived is *prāyaugika*. The *Nyāsa* explains that the suffix added is *ṭhaÑ*, prescribed by P. 4.3.60 in the sense of 'occurring/located therein.' The reason stated is that *prayoga* belongs to the *adhyātmadi-gaṇa* (*Ślokavt*. I on P. 4.3.60). The resulting meaning is 'occurring/located in a performance.'(?)

(19) *parastrī*. The form derived is *pārastraiṇeya*. The *KV* explains that the substitute *inAṄ* is applied by P. 4.1.127. The *Nyāsa* explains that the suffix added is *ḍhaK* by the same rule. However, the correct reference should be to P. 4.1.126, because *parastrī* has been listed in the *kalyāṇyādi-gaṇa*, as is pointed out by the *Padamañjari*. The resulting meaning is 'a descendant of somebody else's wife.'

The *KV* then quotes the *gaṇasūtra rājapuruṣāt ṣyañi* mentioned in the *anuśatika-gaṇa* itself. The stem is:

(20) *rājapuruṣa*. The form derived is *rājapauruṣa*. The *gaṇasūtra* quoted means to say that, if the *taddhita* suffix *ṢyaÑ* is added after *rājapuruṣa*, *ubhayapada-vṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.3.20. The *Nyāsa* explains that the suffix added is *ṢyaÑ* because *rājapuruṣa* has been listed (No. 62) in the *brāhmaṇādi-gaṇa* on P. 5.1.124. The resulting meanings is 'the state/condition of a king's official.'

To point out the significance of the word *ṣyañi* in the *Vt*., the *KV* quotes the counterexample *rājapuruṣāyani*. The suffix added here is *phiÑ* by P. 4.1.157, replaced by *āyani* by P. 7.1.2. Here *ubhayapadavṛddhi* is not applied. Only the *ā* of

rāja is replaced by the *vṛddhi* grade vowel *ā* by P. 7.2.117. The resulting meaning is 'descendant of a king's official.'

4. The *KV* then introduces another *gaṇa*, namely, *śatakumbhasukhaśayanādayaḥ* as part of the *anuśatika-gaṇa*. It consists of four stems, as follows:

(21) *śatakumbha*. The form derived is *śātakaumbha*. The *KV* explains that the *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ*, prescribed by P. 4.3.53 in the sense of 'occurring/located therein.' The resulting meaning is 'located in 100 jars.' *Ubhayapadavṛddhi* is by P. 7.3.20.

(22) *sukhaśayana*.The form derived is *saukhaśāyanika*. The *taddhita* suffix added is *ṭhaK*, prescribed by *Vt*. III on P. 4.4.1 in the sense of *pṛcchati* 'one who asks.' The resulting meaning is 'one asking whether somebody slept well.'

(23) *paradāra* The form derived is *pāradārika*. The *taddhita* suffix added is *ṭhaK*, prescribed by *Vt*. IV on P. 4.4.1 in the sense of *gacchati* 'one who goes.' The resulting meaning is 'one who goes/one who commits adultery with the wife of somebody else.'

(24) *sūtranaḍa*. The form derived is *sautranāḍi*. The *taddhita* suffix is *iÑ*, prescribed by P. 4.1.95 in the sense of 'descendant.' The resulting meaning is 'a descendant of Sūtranaḍa.'

According to a note in the Benares edition of the *KV* here, the nos (22)-(24) are uncertain additions to the *gaṇa*.

5. The *KV* notes that the *anuśatika-gaṇa* is an *ākṛtigaṇa* 'sample list.' To illustrate that, the following examples are mentioned:

(i) *abhigama*. The form derived is *ābhigāmika*. The *KV* explains that the suffix added is *ṭhaÑ*, prescribed by P. 5.1.63 in the sense of 'deserves it.' The resulting meaning is 'one who deserves intercourse.'

(ii) *adhideva* The form derived is *ādhidaivika* The *KV* explains that the *taddhita* suffix has been added in the sense of 'occurring/located therein' (P. 4.3.53). The resulting meaning is 'occurring/located in a presiding deity.' According to the *Nyāsa*, the suffix is *ṭhaÑ*, because *adhideva* has been listed in the *adhyātmādi-gaṇa* Reference is to the *gaṇa* mentioned in Ślokavt. I on P. 4.3.60. This *sūtra* prescribes *ṭhaÑ* in the sense of 'occurring/located therein.'

(iii) *adhibhūta*. The form derived is *ādhibhautika* See further under (ii). The resulting meaning is 'occurring/located in the elements.'

(iv) *caturvidya*. The form derived is *cāturvaidya* The *KV* explains that the *taddhita* suffix added is *ṢyaÑ*, prescribed in the stem's own meaning (*svārthe*) (by *Vt.* I on P. 5.1.124). Thus the *taddhita* suffix does not add anything to the original meaning of the cp. The resulting meaning is 'the four sciences.'

6. The *KV* concludes with an enumeration of the stems belonging to the *anuśatika* list. Nineteen stems are listed.

7. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.21 DEVATĀDVANDVE CA 'also (*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among the vowels of the *uttarapada* and the *pūrvapada* of a nominal base *aṅga*) within the domain of a *devatādvandva*, (provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowel both of the *uttarapada* and the *pūrvapada* of an *aṅga* as qualified, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *devatādvandve* (*aṅgasya uttarapadasya pūrvapadasya ca acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). The present rule is identical in form with P. 6.2.141. A *devatādvandva* is a *dvandva* cp. formed of names of deities. *Devatādvandve* is a *viṣayasaptamī* indicative of a domain. It discontinues *anuśatikādīnām* from P. 7.3.20. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *uttarapadasya* and *pūrvapadasya*. *Uttarapadasya pūrvapadasya ca* is continued as a whole from 7.3.19. Both words are *avayavaṣaṣṭhīs* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*. *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. *Acaḥ* is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*), continued from P. 7.2.114.

The particle *ca* serves to indicate that, according to the present rule, *vṛddhi* is also applied to the first vowel of the *pūrvapada*. Compare P. 7.3.20, under 2.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* according to the Hyderabad edition are *āgnimārutīṃ pṛśnīm ālabheta* 'one should sacrifice a spotted cow (in a sacrifice) dedicated to Agni and Marut' (*Maitrāyaṇī Saṃh.* 2.5.7), and *āgnimārutaṃ karma* 'a sacrifice dedicated to Agni and Marut.' The cp. stem is *agnimarutau* 'Agni and Marut' formed by P. 2.2.29. The *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ*, prescribed by P. 4.2.24

in the sense of 'this is its deity.' The same for the second example. *Ubhayapadavṛddhi* is by P. 7.3.21.

4. The *KV* points out that the present rule applies to *devatādvandvas* which are related to Vedic hymns or to oblations offered to deities. Therefore the rule does not apply in the form *skāndaviśākha* derived in the sense of *skandaviśākhau devate asya* 'whose deities are Skanda and Viśākha.' The cp. is formed again by P. 2.2.29. The *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ*, prescribed by P. 4.2.24 in the sense of 'this is his deity.' *Pūrvapadavṛddhi* is by P. 7.2.117. The two deities do not figure in a Vedic hymn. Moreover, they are not offered oblations in a sacrifice. The same applies in *brāhmaprajāpatya*. Here the cp. stem is *brahmaprajāpatī* 'Brahman and Prajāpati.' The *Nyāsa* explains that *taddhita* suffix added is *Ṇya*, prescribed by P. 4.1.85 in the sense of 'this is his deity.' The *i* of *prajāpati* and the *n* of *brahman* are deleted by P. 6.4.148 and P. 8.2.7 respectively.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.22 NENDRASYA PARASYA '(*vṛddhi* does) not (come in place of the first vowel among the vowels) of *indra* as the final member (of a nominal base *aṅga* within the domain of a *devatādvandva*, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting the substiturion of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowel of *indra* on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*devatādvandve*) *indrasya parasya* (*aṅgasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). *Devatādvandve* is continued from P. 7.3.21.*Indrasya* refers to the word *indra* by P. 1.1.68. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *parasya*. *Indra* must be the *uttarapada* in the *devatādvandva*. *Parasya* is meant to exclude *pūrvapadasya ca* from P. 7.3.19. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection *indrasya parasya*. *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. *Acaḥ* is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. The *vidheya* is *na* (*vṛddhiḥ*), where *vṛddhiḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.114. What is prohibited is *vṛddhi* applicable to the first vowel of the *uttarapada indra*.

In the case of a *pratiṣedhasūtra* the *KV* does not state the complete *anuvṛtti*. The formula used is *yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati*. See the *KV* on P. 7.3.6.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *saumendraḥ* 'one having Soma and Indra for his deities' and *āgnendraḥ* 'one having Agni and Indra for his deities' (P. 6.3.26; 8.2.7) The *Nyāsa* explains that in the first example the *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ*, prescribed by P. 4.2.24 in the sense of 'this is his/its deity.' At the stage (((*soma* + *sU*) + *indra* + *sU*)) + *aṆ*))) + *sU* two rules become applicable simultaneously to the *i* of *indra*. They are P. 6.1.87, which prescribes *guṇa*, and P. 7.3.21, which prescribes *vṛddhi*. Here P. 7.3.21, being an *aṅgādhikāra*-rule, would prevail over the *saṃhitā*-rule P. 6.1.87. See *PN*, *pbh*. 55. This is not desired. To prevent *vṛddhi* here, P. 7.3.22 has been stated. *Ādivṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.2.117. The same argument applies to *āgnendra*.

4. To point out the significance of the word *parasya* in the rule, the *KV* quotes an unidentified injunction to show the counterexample The injunction reads: *aindrāgnam ekādaśakapalaṃ caruṃ nirvapet* 'one should pour out an oblation of rice boiled in milk distributed over eleven potsherds, dedicated to Indra and Agni.' Here *indra* occurs as the initial member of the cp. Therefore P. 7.3.22 does not apply.

5. Finally, an objection is raised and answered. The word *indra* contains two vowels. Of these two the last one, the *a* is deleted (before the suffix *aṆ*) by P. 6.4.148. The other one, i.e., the *i*, undergoes single substitution together with the preceding vowel (of *soma* or *agni*) by P. 6.1.87. The difficulty now is, how to apply *vṛddhi* by P. 7.3.22 to a form which has no vowel left? Thus the prohibition by P. 7.3.22 appears to be redundant. To render it purposeful, it is assumed that P. 7.3.22 gives us a clue. The clue is phrased as follows: *bahiraṅgam api pūrvottarapadayoḥ pūrvaṃ kāryaṃ bhavati paścāt ekādeśaḥ* 'although *bahiraṅga*, an operation applicable to a *pūrvapada* or an *uttarapada* (in a cp.) is applied first, thereafter single substitution is applied.' See *PN*, *pbh*. 53. The *bahiraṅga* operation in our case is *vṛddhi* applied to the *uttarapada*, because it is conditioned by the outside element *aṆ*. That is also how we justify the form *pūrvaiṣukāmaśama* mentioned in connection with P. 7.3.14.

The argument is eventually based on Kātyāyana's *krameṇa anvākhyāna* view of derivation. See the critical note added to P. 7.3.14, under 8. If the *padasaṃskārapakṣa* is adopted, the *vṛddhi* prescribed by an *āṅga* rule prevails over *ekādeśa guṇa* prescribed by a *saṃhitā* rule, by *PN*, *pbh*. 55. Accordingly, we can do away with *PN*, *pbh*. 53.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.23 DĪRGHĀC CA VARUṆASYA 'also (*vṛddhi* does not come in place of the first vowel among vowels) of *varuṇa* (as the final member of a nominal base *aṅga* within the domain of a *devatādvandva* (and) coming immediately after a long (vowel, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately after the *aṅga*)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel for the first vowel of *varuṇa* on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*devatādvandve*) *dīrghāt varuṇasya* (*parasya aṅgasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). *Devatādvandve* is continued from P. 7.3.21. *Dīrgha* is defined as a vowel having the duration of long *ū* by P. 1.2.27 *Dīrghāt* is a technical abl. by P. 1.1.67. We note that the *KV* does not apply the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). In any case, it is implied that the *dīrgha* vowel must occur in final position of the initial cp. member. *Varuṇasya* refers to the word *varuṇa* by P. 1.1.68. It discontinues *indrasya* from P. 7.3.22. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *parasya*. *Varuṇa* must be the *uttarapada* in the *devatādvandva*. See further P. 7.3.22, under 2. The *vidheya* is (*na vṛddhiḥ*). *Na* is continued from P. 7.3.22 and *vṛddhiḥ* from P. 7.2.114.

The particle *ca* serves as a rule boundary. See *FANU*, p.279, convention 99.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *aindrāvaruṇam* 'that whose deities are Indra and Varuṇa' and *maitrāvaruṇam* 'that whose deities are Mitra and Varuṇa.' The *Nyāsa* explains that the final vowel of the *pūrvapadas indra* and *mitra* is replaced by *ānAṄ* (P. 6.3.26). Here the *n* of *ān* is deleted by P. 8.2.7. The *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ*, prescribed by P. 4.2.24 in the sense of 'this is his/its deity.' Deletion of the final vowel of *varuṇa* is by P. 6.4.148. *Vṛddhi* of the initial vowel of the *pūrvapada* is by P. 7.2.117. The sg. nom. case ending *sU* after the *taddhita* formation as a whole is replaced by the ntr. ending *am* by P. 7.1.24.

4. To point out the significance of the word *dīrghāt* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *āgnivāruṇīm* in the) statement *agnivāruṇīm anaḍvahīm ālabheta* 'one should offer a cow (in a sacrifice) dedicated to Agni and Varuṇa' (*Kāth. Saṃh.* 13.6). The *KV* explains that the *ānAṄ-ādeśa*, applicable by P. 6.3.27, is prohibited by P. 6.3.28. This latter rule prescribes the substitution of short *i* for the final of *agni* as the *pūrvapada* of a *devatādvandva* cp. Therefore. since *agni* in the cp. does not end in a long vowel, P. 7.2.23 does not apply to *varuṇa*. Instead, *ubhayapadavṛddhi* applies by P. 7.3.21. The fem. suffix *ṄīP* is added by P. 4.1.15.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.24 PRĀCĀṂ NAGARĀNTE '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first among vowels of the *uttarapada* and the *pūrvapada* (in an *aṅga*) ending in *nagara* "town" belonging to the easterners (provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing *ubhayapadavṛddhi* for a cp. ending in *nagara* on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *prācāṃ nagarānte* (*aṅge uttarapadasya pūrvapadasya ca acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). For *prācām*, that is, *prācāṃ deśe*, compare P. 7.3.14. *Nagarānte* is a *bv*. cp. in connection with which the *KV* supplies *aṅge*. Compare P. 7.3.19, under 2. *Nagara* stands for the word *nagara* by P. 1.1.68. *Prācāṃ nagarānte* discontinues *dīrghāc ca varuṇasya*. *Uttarapadasya* and *pūrvapadasya* are *avayavaṣaṣṭhīs* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*. *Acaḥ* is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. *Ñniti kiti taddhiteṣu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*), continued from P. 7.2.114.

The negation *na* from P. 7.3.23 is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya* 'common sense.' See *FANU*, p. 274, convention 39. *Vṛddhi* was not applicable by any other rule to a cp. ending in the word *nagara*. Therefore there is no point in prohibiting *vṛddhi* here.

The *Nyāsa* refers to the word *vibhāṣitam* 'optionally' in the next *sūtra*. Its mention is taken to indicates that the immediately preceding rule must be *nitya* 'invariably applicable.' From this we conclude that *prācām* in P. 7.3.24 cannot be meant to refer to an opinion of the eastern grammarians, because that would make P. 7.3.24 itself optional. This again leads us to conclude that *prācām* must refer to the country of the easterners, as the *KV* says.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *sauhmanāgara* 'occurring/located in Suhmanagara' and *pauṇḍranāgara* 'occurring/located in Puṇḍranagara'. The suffix added is *aṆ*, prescribed by P. 4.3.53 in the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ*. *Ubhayapadavṛddhi* is by the present rule.

4. To point out the significance of the word *prācām* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *mādranagara* 'occurring/located in Madranagara.' The *taddhita* suffix added is the same as in the earlier examples. Madranagara is a town in the country of the northerners.

For town names ending in *nagara* mentioned by the *KV* see Agrawala [2]1963, p. 75.

5. The traditional idea that *prācām* and *udīcām*, in connection with which *matena* 'according to the opinion' is supplied, refer to two schools of grammarians rather than to regional variations of Sanskrit usage, is questionable.

We note in passing that the concept of *pūjārthe* 'in the sense of showing respect' and applied to the A. in connection with grammarians mentioned by name in a *sūtra* is known to Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 105, line 9). The question of optionality of a rule whether or not the name of a grammarian is mentioned is discussed in the *bhāṣya* on *Vt.* XIX on P. 1.1.44. Apart from the mention of the name of a grammarian, to express optionality of a rule, Pāṇini has several terms at his disposal (*Mbh.* I, p. 105, lines 19-20). Thus it seems fair to conclude that already to Kātyāyana the mention of a grammarian's name in a rule implies optionality of the rule.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.25 (a) JAṄGALA-DHENU-VALAJĀNTASYA '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among vowels of the *uttarapada* and the *pūrvapada* of an *aṅga* ending in *jaṅgala* "jungle," *dhenu* "cow" or *valaja* "field" (provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ or K follows immediately)'

1. The rule translated here is not P. 7.3.25 in its traditional wording. We propose to split the rule as follows:

P. 7.3.25 (a) *jaṅgaladhenuvalajāntasya*

P. 7.3.25 (b) *vibhāṣitam uttaram*

The reason for doing so is simply that a rule in the A. cannot contain two *vidheyas*.

2. P. 7.3.25 (a) is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* grade vowel on the conditions stated for an *aṅga* ending in the three stems mentioned.

3. The *uddeśya* is *jaṅgaladhenuvalajāntasya* (*aṅgasya uttarapadasya pūrvapadasya ca acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). *Jaṅgaladhenuvalajāntasya* discontinues *prācām nagarānte* from P. 7.3.24. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1 It stands in a

samānādhikaraṇa relation with the *bv* cp. *jaṅgala...antasya*. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *uttarapadasya* and *pūrvapadasya*, continued from P. 7.3.19. Both words, in their turn, are *avayavaṣaṣṭhīs* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*. *Acaḥ* is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*), continued from P. 7.2.114.

4. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) *kaurujāṅgalam*. The *Padamañjari* explains that a *jaṅgala* is a region mainly consisting of forest. The suffix added is *aṆ* prescribed by P. 4.3.53 in the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ*. The resulting meaning is 'occurring/located in in the jungle of the Kuru territory.'

(b) *vaiśvadhainavam*. The *Padamañjarī* explains that *dhenu* means *navaprasūtā* 'a cow which has recently calved.' See further under (a). Maybe *viśvadhenu* is a place name.

(c) *sauvarṇavālaja* 'occurring/located in Suvarṇavalaja.' See further under (a). Maybe *suvarṇavalaja* is a place name.

5. See further under P. 7.3.25 (b).

7.3.25 (b) VIBHĀṢITAM UTTARAM 'what is (mentioned as) the *uttara*(-*pada*) is subject to option'

1. For the division of the rule see P. 7.3.25 (a), under 1.

2. P. 7.3.25 (b) is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing optional substitution of a *vṛddhi* vowel for the first among vowels of *jaṅgala*, *dhenu* or *valaja* when occurring in final position of an *aṅga*, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately.

3. The phrasing of the rule is awkward. A better phrasing would have been *vibhāṣitaṃ cottaram*. The word *vibhāṣitam* is also used in P. 8.1.53 and 74. It is not clear whether *vibhāṣitam* refers to marginal optionality. See Kiparsky 1979, p. 208. Kiparsky also notices that minor terms like *bahulam* and *vibhāṣitam* are rarely continued by *anuvṛtti*. In any case, the *vibhāṣitam* of P. 7.3.25 (b) is not continued.

4. For the examples see P. 7.3.25 (a), under 3. By the present rule we derive the alternative forms *kaurujaṅgalam*, *vaiṁvadhenavam* and *sauvarṇavalajaḥ*.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on P. 7.3.25.

7.3.26 (a) ARDHĀT PARIMĀṆASYA '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among vowels) of (an *uttarapada* signifying) *parimāṇa* "a measure (of weight or capacity)," (belonging to a nominal base *aṅga*, and preceded by (the word) *ardha* "half," (provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with Ñ, Ṇ or K follows immediately)'

The rule translated here is not P. 7.3.26 in its traditional wording, we propose to split the rule as follows:

P. 7.3.26 (a) *ardhāt parimāṇasya*

P. 7.3.26 (b) *pūrvasya tu vā*

The reason for doing so is that one rule cannot have two *vidheyas*. Moreover, the particle *tu*, like *ca*, should come after the first word of a rule. See *AP* VIII, P. 2.4.83, under 3 and 8, and *AP* XII, P. 7.3.3 (a), under 1.

Even though the (a) rule and the (b) rule are regarded as separate rules, they are to be conjunctively applied in one and the same derivation.

2. Why this peculiar phrasing of P. 7.3.26 which led us to split the rule? We recall that the phrase *uttarapadasya pūrvapadasya ca* was introduced by P. 7.3.19. It was continued in P. 7.3.20 and 21. In P. 7.3.22 and 23 the *pūrvapadasya* part was discontinued by the specific mention of *parasya*. In P. 7.3.24 and 25 *uttarapadasya pūrvapadasya ca* was continued again. Now the difficulty in P. 7.3.26 is that a different treatment of the *pūrvapada* and of the *uttarapada* is introduced. *Vṛddhi* for the *uttarapada* is *nitya* 'invariably applicable,' but is declared optional for for the *pūrvapada*. To maintain the continuation of *uttarapadasya pūrvapadasya* as a whole and to maintain the difference in treatment, the *sūtrakāra* found no better way than to add *pūrvasya tu vā*, as an independent rule, not as an associative digression. If it were an associative digression, *pūrvasya* vcould not be continued in the next rules.

3. P. 7.3.26 (a) is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* vowel on the conditions stated.

4. The *uddeṁya* is (*aṅgasya*) *ardhāt parimāṇasya* (*uttarapadasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *uttarapadasya*. *Ardhāt* is a technical abl. by P. 1.1.67. Reference is tò the word *ardha* by P. 1.1.68. For *parimāṇa* see Agrawala [2]1963, p. 251.

Uttarapadasya stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *parimāṇasya*. One may wonder why the *tadantavidhi* is not applied to *parimāṇasya*. In P. 7.3.17 *parimāṇasya* is actually used to qualify *aṅgasya*. The reason is stated by *Vt*. III on P. 1.1.72. It forbids the application of the *tadantavidhi* for *pratyayavidhis*. *Ardhāt parimāṇasya* discontinues *jaṅgaladhenavalajāntasya* from P. 7.3.25. See further P. 7.3.25 (a), under 3.The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*), continued from P. 7.2.114.

5. The first example quoted by the *KV* is *ārdhadrauṇikam* 'what has been bought for half a *droṇa*.' Cp. formation is by P. 2.2.2. The suffix added is *ṭhaÑ*, prescribed by P. 5.1.37 in the sense of *tena krîtam*. The *ṭh* is replaced by *ika* by P. 7.3.50. The second example is *ārdhakauḍavikam* 'what has been bought for half a *kuḍava*.'

According to Agrawala [2]1963, p. 252, 253, *droṇa* and *kuḍava* are measures of weight. But *droṇa* can be a measure of capacity too.

6. To point out the significance of the word *parimāṇasya* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *ardhakrośikam*. The *taddhita* suffix added is *ṭhaÑ*, prescribed by P. 5.1.109 in the sense of *prayojanam*. The resulting meaning is 'whose purpose is half a *krośa*.' A *krośa* is a measure of distance, not of weight.

7. See further under P. 7.3.26 (b).

7.3.26 (b) PŪRVASYA TU VĀ 'but (*vṛddhi* comes) preferably (in place of the first among vowel) of the *pūrva*(*pada*)'

1. For the division of P 7.3.26 see P 7.3.26 (a), under 1 and 2.

2. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the optional (preferable) substitution of a *vṛddhi* vowel for the first among vowels of the *pūrvapada* of the cps mentioned in the (a) rule, on the same conditions.

3. For the meaning attributed to *vā* see Kiparsky 1979, p. 1.

4. For the examples see P. 7.3.26 (a), under 3. From P. 7.3.26 (b) it is clear that they represent the preferred forms. The alternative (non-preferred) forms are *ardhadrauṇikam* and *ardhakauḍavam*.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on P. 7.3.26.

7.3.27 NĀTAḤ PARASYA '(*vṛddhi* does) not (come) in place of short *a* (being the first among vowels) of the following (member signifying *parimāṇa* and preceded by *ardha* "half" of a nominal base *aṅga*, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting *vṛddhi* in the case stated.

2. According to *FANU*, p. 273, convention 30, terms for optionality (like *vā* in P. 7.3.26 (b)), are not continued in the next rule, if it contains *na*.

3. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya ardhāt parimāṇasya*) *parasya ataḥ* (*acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). *Aṅgasya*, which is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *parasya*, is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Ardhāt parimāṇasya* is continued from P. 7.3.26 (a) and (b). *Parasya* refers to the *uttarapada* of the *aṅga* It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *parimāṇasya*. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*, continued from P. 7.2.115 and 117. It discontinues *pūrvasya* from P. 7.3.26 (b). Since P. 7.3.27 specifically deals with the *uttarapada*, it goes without saying that the treatment of the *pūrvapada* is unchanged. Therefore *pūrvapadasya* is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. *Ataḥ* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *acaḥ*. The function of the *anubandha T* in *aTaḥ* has been defined by P. 1.1.70. *Acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti tadditesu* is continued from P. 7.2.115-118. Here *acaḥ* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. The *vidheya* is *na* (*vṛddhiḥ*) where *vrddhih* is continued from P. 7.2.114.

The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) *ārdhaprasthika*. Cp. formation is by P. 2.2.2. The suffix added is *ṭhaÑ*, prescribed by P. 5.1.37 in the sense of *tena krîtam*. The resulting meaning is 'what has been bought for half a *prastha*.' Since the *uttarapada prastha* has a short first vowel, P. 7.3.27 prohibits *vṛddhi* here. For *prastha* see Agrawala [2]1963, p. 253.

(b) *ārdhakaṃsika* 'what has been bought for half a *kaṃsa*'. For *kaṃsa* see *op. cit.*, p. 253.

5. To point out the significance of the word *ataḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *ārdhakauḍavika* mentioned earlier. See P. 7.3.26 (a), under 4.

To point out the significance of the *anubandha T* in *ataḥ*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *ardhakhārī*. The *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ*, prescribed by P. 4.3.53 in the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ*. The fem. suffix is *ṄîP*, by P. 4.1.15. The final *a* of the

taddhita derivation *ardhakhāra* is deleted before *ṄīP* by P. 6.4.168. The resulting meaning is '(a fem. item) occurring/located in half a *khārī*.' For *khārî* see Agrawala [2]1963, p. 253.

6. The *KV* then asks *kiṃ ca syāt* 'but what does it matter?' That is, what does it matter, if the *anubandha T* had not been added to *a*, and, consequently, *vṛddhi* would be applied. What difference does it make? We could still have the form *ardhakhārī*. To show the purpose of the *anubandha*, the *KV* quotes the example *ardhakhārībhāryaḥ*. This is a *bv.* cp. literally meaning 'having a wife who is found in half a *khārī*.' Since in the derivation of the fem. form *ardhakhārī* the suffix *aṆ* has been used which causes *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.117, the rule P. 6.3.39 will prohibit *puṃvadbhāva* before a final cp. constituent, like °*bharya*. So we will derive the correct form *ardhakhārībhārya*. Now, suppose the *anubandha T* had not been used. Then P. 7.3.27 would have prohibited *vṛddhi* for the *ā* of *khārī*. Consequently, the suffix *aṆ* could not be said to be *vṛddhinimitta* 'a cause of *vṛddhi*.' Therefore *puṃvadbhāva* could not be prohibited by P. 6.3.39. In other words, *puṃvadbhāva* would be applied. The result would be the undesired form **ardhakhārabhārya*. The conclusion is that, in order to render the suffix *aṆ vṛddhinimitta*, the *anubandha T* has been added in *aTaḥ*. The discussion has been probably inspired by Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on P. 7.3.28.

To show the reverse case, the *KV* quotes the example *vaiyākaraṇabhārya* 'the husband of a female grammarian.' The form *vaiyākaraṇī* is derived with the *taddhita* suffix *aṆ* by P. 4.2.59, and the fem. suffix *ṄīP*. Here *vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the *aṅga vyākaraṇa* is prohibited by P. 7.3.3 (a). Consequently, the suffix *aṆ* cannot be called *vṛddhinimtta* 'a cause of *vṛddhi*.' Therefore *puṃvadbhāva* is applied by P. 6.3.34. The result is *vaiyākaraṇabhārya*, which is the desired form. To sum up, if the *taddhita* suffix is *vṛddhinimitta*, *puṃvadbhāva* is prohibited by P. 6.3.39. If it is not *vṛddhinimitta*, *puṃvadbhāva* is applied by P. 6.3.34.

7. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.28 (a) PRAVĀHAṆASYA ḌHE '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among vowel of the following membet of the nominal base *aṅga*)' *pravāhaṇa* "a proper name," provided that (the *taddhita* suffix) *ḍha*(*K*) (marked with *K*) follows immediately'

1. This is P.7.3.28 in its original wording. But tradition as represented by the *KV* considers P. 7.3.28 to be a single rule in which what we regard as P. 7.3.26 (b) is continued. Since we regard this latter rule as a separate rule, we will continue it as such in P. 7.3.28. That gives us two rules, as follows:

P. 7.3.28 (a) *pravāhaṇasya ḍhe*

P. 7.3.28 (b) *pūrvasya tu vā*

See further P. 7.3.26 (a), under 1.

2. P. 7.3.28 (a) is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* vowel for the *uttarapada* in *pravāhaṇa*, on the conditions stated.

3. Tradition represented by the *KV* discontinues *na* from P. 7.3.27. For the discontinuation of *na* we refer to *FANU*, p. 274, convention 39, which says that the continuation or discontinuation of *na* is to be decided on the basis of *sāmarthya* 'common sense.' The common sense in the present case consists in this that *vṛddhi* is not applicable to the *uttarapada* °*vahana* in *pravāhaṇa* by any rule in the section P. 7.3.10-28. °*Vāhana* is not a *saṃkhyā*, nor does it stand for a *parimāṇa*, etc. So there is no point in prohibiting *vṛddhi* here.

The *KV* also continues P. 7.3.26 (b). For the reason behind this procedure see P. 7.3.26 (a). under 2.

4. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya parasya*) *pravāhaṇasya acām ādeḥ ḍhe taddhite*. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *parasya*. The word *parasya* is continued from P. 7.3.27. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *pravāhaṇasya*. The word *pravāhaṇasya*, in its turn, is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*, continued from P. 7.2.115 and 117. Reference is to the word *pravāhaṇa* by P. 1.1.68. It discontinues *parimāṇasya* from P. 7.3.26 (a). *Ardhāt* and *ataḥ* from P. 7.3.26 (a) and 27 are discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. *Ñṇiti kiti* form P. 7.2.115 and 118 may be redundantly continued because it is needed again in in the next rule. The word *ḍhe* refers to the *taddhita* suffix *ḍhaK*, prescribed by P. 4.1.123 in the sense of *apatya* 'descendant.' *Taddhite* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 7.2.117. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*), continued from P. 7.2.114.

5. See further under P. 7.3.28 (b).

7.3.28 (b) PŪRVASYA VĀ '(*vṛddhi* comes) preferably (in place of the first among vowels) of the *pūrva*(*pada*)'

1. For the division of the rule see P. 7.3.28 (a), under 1.

2. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the preferable substitution of a *vṛddhi* vowel on the same conditions as stated in the (a) rule.

3. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya*) *pūrvasya* (*acām ādeḥ acaḥ*). See further P. 7.3.28 (a), under 3. The *vidheya* is *vā* (*vṛddhiḥ*). For the meaning assigned to *vā* see Kiparsky 1979, p. 1. *Vrddhih* is continued from P. 7.2.114.

4. The example quoted by the *KV prāvāhaṇeya/pravāhaṇeya*, derived in the sense of 'a descendant of Pravāhaṇa.' The *taddhita* suffix added is *ḍhaK*.

The *Nyāsa* explains *pravāhaṇa* as a *ṆiC* formation by P. 3.1.26 to which *LyuṬ* is aded in thesense of agent by P. 3.1.113. Here *ṆiC* is deleted by P. 6.4.51. Marginal (*vibhāṣā*) *ṇatva* is by P. 8.4.30. The suffix *ḍhaK* is replaced by *eya*, by P. 7.1.2. *Vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the *uttarapada* is by P. 7.3.28 (a) and (preferably) of the vowel *a* of the *pūrvapada* by P. 7.3.28 (b).

5. P. 7.3.28 (a) prescribes *nityā vṛddhi* for the first vowel of the *uttarapada* °*vāhana* before the suffix *ḍhaK*. The purpose of the *vṛddhi*-substitution is to prevent *puṃvadbhāva* by P. 6.3.39. The (b) rule prescribes optional (preferable) *vṛddhi* for the vowel of the *pūrvapada pra*° on the same conditions. Thereby *nityā vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.117 is set aside. But this *bādhyabādhaka* relation betwen P. 7.2.117 and P. 7.3.28 (b) is restricted to *pravāhaṇa* only.

6. We have no *Vts* on the rule, but there is a *bhāṣya*. Here Patañjali discusses the question why prescribe *vṛddhi* for the first vowel of °*vāhana*, when this is a *vṛddhi* vowel already? The answer is that on account of the prescription of *vṛddhi* the suffix *ḍhaK* becomes a *vṛddhinimitta* 'cause of *vṛddhi*.' Reference is to P.6.3.39. Compare P. 7.3.27, under 6. Accordingly, the prohibition of *puṃvadbhāva* becomes applicable in *pravāhaṇeyībhārya* 'whose wife is a descendant of' Pravāhaṇa.' Here the fem. suffix *ṄīP* is added to *pravāhaṇeya*. So we do not derive the form *pravāhaṇeyabhārya* in the same sense.

Patañjali goes on to argue that even if P. 7.3.28 had not prescribed *vṛddhi*, and that even if, consequently, the suffix *ḍhaK* is not *vṛddhinimitta*, there is no harm. The argument goes as follows. If *ḍhak* is not *vṛddhinimitta*, the prohibition of *puṃvadbhāva* by P. 6.3.39 does not apply. Then how to prevent the derivation of the (undesired) form *pravāhaṇabhārya* by P. 6.3.34? The answer is, by P. 6.3.41. Here the prohibition of *puṃvadbhāva* is not conditioned by a suffix which is *vṛddhinimitta*, but by a word signifying a *jāti*. The rule says *jāteś ca*. That is to say, a fem. noun stem which has a corresponding masc. form and which denotes a *jāti* 'species, class'

is not treated like a masc. *Jāti*-words include descendancy denoting words, according to the definition *gotraṃ ca caraṇaiḥ saha* (*Mbh.* II, p. 225, line 15). So we can derive the correct form *pravāhaneyībharya*.

7. One question remains: is P. 7.3.28 really required? Tradition, as represented by Patañjali and the *KV*, is of the opinion that the rule is not required to have *vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the *uttarapada* of *pravāhaṇa*, if *ḍhak* follows. But it is required to have optional *vṛddhi* of the vowel of the *pūrvapada*. That is why P. 7.3.26 (b) is continued.

7.3.29 (a) TATPRATYAYASYA CA 'also (*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first among vowels of the *uttarapada* of the nominal base *aṅga pravāhaṇa*) ending in that (suffix *ḍhaK*, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately)'

1. This is P. 7.3.29 in its original wording. Tradition as represented by the *KV* considers P. 7.3.29 as a single rule in which what we regard as P. 7.3.26 (b) is continued. We have continued this rule as a separate rule in connection with P. 7.3.28, and will do so again in the case of P. 7.3.29. That gives us two rules, as follows:

P. 7.3.29 (a) *tatpratyayasya ca*

P. 7.3.29 (b) *pūrvasya vā*

See further P. 7.3.26 (a), under 2.

2. P. 7.3.29 (a) is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* vowel for the first vowel of the *uttarapada* of the *aṅga* consisting of *pravāhaṇa* + *ḍhaK* on the condition stated.

3. The *uddeśya* is *tatpratyayasya* (*pravāhaṇasya aṅgasya uttarapadasya acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). The word *tad* in *tatpratyayasya* refers to the form ending in the suffix *ḍhaK* from P. 7.3.28 (a). The *KV* explains *tatpratyayasya* as *tatpratyayāntasya* 'of (an *aṅga*) ending in that (suffix *ḍhaK*).' It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. *Pravāhaṇasya* is continued from P. 7.3.28 (a). It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. The word *aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *uttarapadasya*, continued from P. 7.3.10. *Uttarapadasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*, continued from P. 7.2.115 and 117. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*), continued from P. 7.2.114.

The particle *ca* serves to indicate the boundary with P. 7.3.28.

4. See further under P. 7.3.29 (b)

7.3.29 (b) PŪRVASYA VĀ '(*vṛddhi* comes) preferably (in place of the first among vowels) of the *pūrva*(*pada*)'

1. For the division of the rule see P.7.3.29 (a), under 1, and P. 7.3.26 (a), under 2.

2. P. 7.3.29 (b) is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the optional (preferable) substitution of a *vṛddhi* vowel for the firts vowel of *pravāhaṇa* + *ḍhaK*, on the same conditions as stated in the (a) rule.

3. The *uddeśya* is (*pravāhaṇasya tatpratyayasya aṅgasya*) *pūrvasya* (*acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). The *vidheya* is *vā* (*vṛddhiḥ*).

4. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) *pravāhaṇeyi/prāvāhaṇeyi*. First the forms *pravāhaṇeya/prāvāhaṇeya* are derived by adding *ḍhaK*. Then the *taddhita* suffix *iÑ*, prescribed by P. 4.1.95 in the sense of 'descendant' is added. The resulting meaning is 'descendant of a descendant of Pravāhaṇeya.'

(b) *pravāhaṇeyakam/prāvāhaṇeyakam*. First the *ḍhaK* derivations are formed. Then the *taddhita* suffix *vuÑ*, which also conveys the sense of a *gotra* descendant, is added by P. 4.3.126. It is replaced by *aka*, by P. 7.1.1. The resulting meaning is 'a *gotra* descendant of Pravāhaṇa.'

5. Why has P. 7.3.29 been phrased at all? The *KV* explains that P. 7.3.28 (b) is concerned with the sequence *pravāhaṇa* + *ḍhaK*. Therefore it cannot apply to the sequence (*pravāhaṇa* + *ḍhaK*) + *vuÑ*. Here *vuÑ* is termed *bāhyataddhita* 'external *taddhita* (suffox).' Due to this external suffix *nityā vṛddhi* will apply to the first vowel of *pravāhaṇeya* invariably. P. 7.2.28 (b) cannot set this aside. As the *KV* says, *vṛddhi* based on an external *taddhita* cannot be set aside by an option conditioned by a following *ḍha*, which forms part of the *aṅga*. Still, optional *vṛddhi* of the vowel of the *pūrvapada pra* is desired. That is why P. 7.3.29 has been specially phrased.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.30 (a) NAÑAḤ ŚUCI-ĪŚVARA-KṢETRAJÑA-ḲUŚALA-NIPUṆĀNĀM '(*vṛddhi* comes in place of the first vowel among vowels of the *uttarapadas*) *śuci* "pure," *Īśvara* "ruler," *kṣetrajña* "the self who is conscious," *kuśala*" "skilful and *nipuṇa* "clever," preceded by *naÑ* (and belonging to an *aṅga*, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately'

1. This is P. 7.3.30 in its original wording. Tradition as represented by the *KV* considers P. 7.3.30 to be a single rule in which what we regard as P. 7.3.26 (b) is continued. We have continued this latter rule as a separate rule in connection with P. 7.3.28 and 29, and we will do so again in the case of P. 7.3.30. That gives us two rules, as folliows:

P. 7.3.30 (a), *nañaḥ sucîśvarakṣetrajñakuśalanipuṇzānām*

P. 7.3.30 (b), *pūrvasya vā*

See further P. 7.3.26 (a), under 2.

2. P. 7.3.30 (a) is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* vowel for five specified *uttarapadas* of a *naòsamasa*, on the conditions stated.

3. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya*) *nañaḥ sucIśvarakṣetrajñakuśalanipuṇānām* (*uttarapadānām acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). Here *aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *uttarapadānām*. *NaÑaḥ* refers to the negative particle *na*. It is a technical abl. by P. 1.1.67. The words *ḍhe, pravāhaṇasya* (both from P. 7.3.28) and *tatpratyayasya* (from P. 7.3.29) are discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*, because P. 7.3.30 mentions different pre-suffixal stems. *Śuci...nipuṇānām* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *uttarapadānām*. The word *uttarapadānām*, continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 7.3.10, is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ* continued from P. 7.2.115 and 117. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*), continued fromP. 7.2.114.

4. See further under P. 7.3.30 (b).

7.3.30 (b) PŪRVASYA VĀ '(*vṛddhi* comes) preferably (in place of the first among vowels of the *pūrva*(*pada*)'

1. For the division of the rule see P. 7.3.30 (a), under 1, and P. 7.3.26 (a), under 2.

2. P. 7.3.30 (b) is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the optional (preferable) substitution of a *vṛddhi* vowel for the *a* of *naÑ* as the *pūrvapada* of cp. formations with an *uttarapada* specified by P. 7.3.30 (a).

3. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya*) *pūrvasya vā*. The *vidheya* is *vā* (*vṛddhiḥ*). See further P. 7.3.30 (a), under 1.

4. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *śuci*: *aśaucam/āśaucam* 'impurityz.' *Tp*. cp. formation by P. 2.2.6. *Na* is replaced by *a* by P. 6.3.72. The *taddhita* suffix added is *aṆ*, prescribed by P. 5.1.131 in the sense of *bhāva* 'state, condition' or *karman* 'action, performance of duty.'

(b) For *īśvara*: *anaiśvaryam/ānaiśvaryam* 'lack of rulership.' *Na* is replaced by *an* by P. 6.3.73. The *taddhita* suffix is *ṢyaÑ*, prescribed by P. 5.1.124 in the sense of *bhāva* or *karman*.

(c) For *kṣetrajña*: *akṣaitrajñyam/akṣaitrajñyam* 'state of not being the self who is conscious.' The *taddhita* suffix is *ṢyaÑ* again.

(d) For *kuśala*: *akauśalam/ākauśalam* 'what does not belong to a skilful one.' The *taddhita* suffix is *aṆ*, prescribed by P. 4.3.120 in the sense of 'belonging to.'

(e) For *nipuṇa*: *anaipuṇam/ānaipuṇam* 'what does not belong to a clever one.' See under (d).

5. The *KV* then records the opinion of some grammarians (*kecid*) who think that the optional *vṛddhi* of the *pūrvapada* is an *aprāptā vibhāṣā*. That is to say, it is an option for a grammatical operation (in our case, *vṛddhi*) which has not been prescribed previously. Reference is made to P. 5.1.121 which prohibits *taddhita* suffixes in the sense of *bhāva* from being added to a *nañsamasa*, barring some exceptions which do not include *śuci*, etc. The implication is that in the derivation of the *naÑ* form we should first add the *taddhita* suffix to *śuci*, etc., and then add the negative particle. The derivation thus goes as follows: (1) *śuci* + *aṆ* → *śauca* (P. 6.4.148; 7.2.117), (2) *na śauca* → *aśauca* (P. 6.3.72). The *nityā vṛddhi* prescribed by P. 7.2.117 is not applicable, because *naÑ* is not part of an *aṅga*.

Still, the forms *āśaucam*, etc., are desired. How to derive them? As stated, the difficulty is that *naÑ* is not part of the *aṅga* to which the *taddhita* suffix is added. So we can apply optional *vṛddhi* only on the strength of the statement of P. 7.3.30

(b). That is to say, if that statement had not been made, P. 5.1.121 would have disallowed optional forms like *āśaucam* altogether, the reason being that this rule assumes that first the *taddhita* form in the sense of *bhāva* is derived, and then only *naÑ* is added.

The solution proposed by *kecid* is to derive these forms by P. 7.3.30 (b), never mind the *aṅgādhikāra*. In the technical stage ((*naÑ* + *sU*) + (*śauca* + *sU*)) + *sU* optional *vṛddhi* for *naÑ* is not applicable by any rule, because *naÑ* is not part of the *aṅga* to which the *taddhita* suffix is added. Since optional *vṛddhi* is not applicable by any rule but P. 7.3.30 (b), it is called *aprāptā vibhāṣā*. In this solution the requirements of the *aṅgādhikāra* are incidentally suspended.

6. The *KV* informs us that other grammarians (*apare*) do not consider so. Referring to the *bhāṣya* on *Vt*. I on P. 5.1.119, the *KV* mentions that, apart from *taddhita* suffixes conveying the sense of *bhāva* (or *karman*), *taddhita* suffixes are also found as causes of *vṛddhi* after a *nañsamasa* only, like in the case of those conveying the sense of *apatya* 'descendant.' And *taddhita* suffixes conveying the sense of *bhāva* are added after a *bv*. cp. formed with *naÑ* also. This being so, suspending the *aṅgādhikāra* is not correct.

The *Nyāsa* notes the examples *ākuśaliḥ* 'a descendant of *Akuṣala*' and *ākuśalam* 'what belongs to Akuśala.' Here the *aṅga* consists of *naÑ* + *kuśala*. After that *aṅga* the *taddhita* suffixes *iÑ* (P. 4.1.95) and *aṆ* (P. 4.3.120) are added respectively. The corresponding technical analysis is ((((*naÑ* + *sU*) + (*kuśala* + *sU*) + *Ṅas*))) + *iÑ* / *aṆ*)))) + *sU*. Here it is clear that *naÑ* is the *pūrvapada* of the *aṅga* to which the *taddhita* suffixes are added. Accordingly, P. 7.2.117 becomes applicable for *vṛddhi* of the first vowel, and P. 7.3.30 (b) renders that optional. Instead of being an *aprāptavibhāṣā*, P. 7.3.30 (b) now is a *prāptavibhāṣā*. For the *bv*. *nañsamasa* the *Nyāsa* quotes the example *āśaucam* 'the state of one not possessing purity.' Here the *taddhita* suffix *aṆ* (P. 5.1.131) is added to the *bv*. stem *aśuci*.

7. The *KV* ends by noting that the *nañpurvapada* forms *akṣetrajña* and *anīśvara* have been listed in the *brāhmaṇādi-gaṇa* (P. 5.1.124). The Böhtlingk edition of the *Gaṇapāṭha* here, however, lists the corresponding non-*nañpurvapada* forms, nos. 32 and 98 respectively. According to the list as known to the *KV*, P. 5.1.124 prescribes the *taddhita* suffix *ṢyaÑ* after the two *nañpurvapada* forms in the sense of *bhāva*. This confirms the derivational procedure in the case of *aśauca*/*āśauca*, etc., by the grammarians referred to as *kecid* by the *KV*.

8. We note that Patañjali mentions five purposes for P. 5.1.121, four of which he rejects. The final explanation is that *taddhita* suffixes are added after what requires an outside word, namely, *naÑ*. That is to say, we will first derive the *taddhita* form, like *śauca* and then add *naÑ*. In support of this view Patañjali quotes part of the accent rule P. 6.2.155. This rule mentions four broad meaning categories in which *taddhita* suffixes are prescribed. It says that, when one of these meanings is negated by *naÑ*, the resulting form takes *udātta* on the final syllable. P. 6.2.155 also presupposes the order of derivation as first derive the *taddhita* form in the meanings mentioned, and then add *naÑ*. We note that P. 6.2.155 is not concerned with *taddhita* suffixes conveying the sense of *bhāva* or *karman*.

9. So which procedure to adopt? We feel that there is no good reason to incidentally suspend the *aṅgādhikāra*. To explain, the present (b) rule prescribes optional (preferable) *vṛddhi* for the *pūrvapada naÑ* in connection with specified *uttarapadas*. One examples is *aśaucam/āśaucam*. The technical analysis assumed is ((((*naÑ* + *sU*) + (*śuci* + *sU*)) + *Ṅas*))) + *aṆ*))) + *sU*. Here it is clear that, with regard to the suffix *aṆ*, the *aṅga* is *aśuci*, where *naÑ* is the *pūrvapada*. Our conclusion is that, according to P. 7.3.30 (b), first the *nañsamāsa* is formed, and that the *taddhita* suffix conveying the sense of *bhāva* or *karman* is added only afterwards. This goes against P. 5.1.121.

We recall the *Vt*.-like statement at the end of the *bhāṣya* on P. 2.2.6, for which see *AP* VI, p. 14, and *TA*, n. 441. This statement indicates that *nañsamasa* prevails over *taddhita* formation with *tva* or *taL*, which are *bhāvapratyayas*. To our opinion, the statement should be expanded to cover other *taddhita* suffixes than *tva* or *taL* also, like *aṆ* or *ṢyaÑ*, conveying the sense of *bhāva*.

To sum up, (1) P. 5.1.121 prohibits *taddhita* derivations from cps formed with *naÑ*, with some exceptions which do not include *śuci*, etc. (2) P. 7.3.30 (b) deals with *naÑ* as the *pūrvapada* of cps to which a *taddhita* suffix conveying the sense of *bhāva* or *karman* is added. (3) The *Vt*.-like statement quoted in the *bhāṣya* on P. 2.2.6 indicates that *nañsamasa* should prevail over the *taddhita* formation in the sense of *bhāva* or *karman*. (4) P. 6.2.155 deals with *taddhita* formations in senses other than *bhāva* or *karman*. Here the *sūtrakāra* says that *naÑ* negates the *taddhita* meaning, implying that first the *taddhita* form is derived, and that it is subsequently negated by *naÑ*.

10. We note that *kuśala* and *nipuṇa* have been listed in the *yuvādi-gaṇa* on P. 5.1.130 (nos 25 and 27). P. 5.1.130 prescribes the *taddhita* suffix *aṆ* in the sense of *bhāva* or *karman*.

11. We have argued earlier (see the article "The Structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in Historical Perspective" in *Proceedings of the International Seminar on Studies in the Aṣṭādhyāyî of Pāṇini*, Poona 1983) that the *taddhita* section is a later addition to the text of the A. We find a confirmation of that view in the difficulty posed by P. 5.1.121 in relation to the *aṅga*-rule P. 7.3.30 (b). Moreover, we like to point out that the present section, P. 7.2.117-7.3.31 comes under the conditions *acādeḥ ācaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu* which are discontinued from P. 7.3.32 onwards. If this section is dropped from the A. the text from P. 7.2.116 continues with P. 7.3.32 without difficulty.

12. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.31 YATHĀTATHĀ-YATHĀPURAYOḤ PARYĀYEṆA '(*vṛddhi* comes) alternatingly (in place of the first among vowels of the *uttarapadas*) *yathātathā* "conform to fact" and *yathāpura* "conform to what was the fact earlier,") preceded by *naÑ*, and of the first among vowels of the *pūrvapada* of an *aṅga*, provided that a *taddhita* suffix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* vowel for the specifically stated *uttarapadas* of a *nañsamāsa*, and of the *pūrvapada*, alternatingly, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *paryāyeṇa* (*aṅgasya nañaḥ*) *yathātathāyathāpurayoḥ* (*uttarapadayoḥ pūrvasya ca acām ādeḥ acaḥ ñṇiti kiti taddhiteṣu*). *Paryāyeṇa* is an adv. used in the A. only here. It discontinues *vā* from P. 7.3.26. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *uttarapadayoḥ* and *pūrvasya*. *Nañaḥ*, continued from P. 7.3.30, is a technical abl. by P. 1.1.67. *Yathātathā-yathāpurayoḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *uttarapadayoḥ*. It discontinues *śuci...nipuṇānām* from P. 7.2.30 (a). *Uttarapadayoḥ* is continued (with *vibhakti-vipariṇāma*) from P. 7.3.10. Both *uttarapadayoḥ* and *pūrvasya* are *avayavaṣaṣṭhīs* in connection with *acām ādeḥ acaḥ*, which is continued from P. 7.2.115 and 117. The *vidheya* is (*vṛddhiḥ*) continued from P. 7.2.114.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) *āyathātathyam/ayathātathyam*. The *taddhita* suffix added is *ṢyaÑ*, prescribed by P. 5.1.124 in the sense of *bhāva*. *Yathātathā* has been listed in the *brāhmaṇādi-gaṇa* (no. 75). The resulting meaning is 'in such a way that it is not conform to fact.'

(b) *āyathāpūrvam/ayathāpūrvam*. Again *ṢyaÑ* is added. (*Yathā*)*puram* is read in the same list (no. 76). The resulting meaning is 'in such a way that it is not conform to earlier fact.'

4. The (traditional) derivation of *ayathātathyam* is as follows. We begin with the derivation of the stem form *yathātatha*.

A. (1) ((*yathā* + *sU*) + (*tathā* + *am*))	P. 2.1.7

The acc. case ending *am* is added to *tathā* in accordance with the meaning 'not going beyond' attributed to *yathā*.

(2) ((*yathā* + °) + (*tathā* + °))	P. 2.4.71
(3) *yathā* + *tathā*	P. 2.4.83
(4) *yathātatha*	P. 1.2.47
yathātatha.	

B. (1) (((*naÑ*+ *sU*) + (*yathātatha* + *sU*)) + *Ṅas*))) + *ṢyaÑ*	P. 2.2.6; 4.1.82 5.1.124
(2) (((*naÑ*+ °) + (*yathātatha* + °)) + *as*))) + *ya*	P. 2.4.71
(3) (((*a* + *yathātatha*)) + *as*))) + *ya*	P. 6.3.73
(4) (((*a* + *yathātatha*)) + °))) + *ya*	P. 2.4.71
(5) *ayathātath°* + *ya*	P. 6.4.148
ayathātathya.	

Since P. 7.3.31 says *paryāyeṇa*, we have either *vṛddhi* of the *a* of *naÑ* or of the first vowel of *yathātathya*. The result is *āyathātathyam* or *ayāthātathyam*, and *āyathāpuram* or *ayāthāpuram*.

6. The *KV* explains that *yathātathā* and *yathāpuram* are *avyayībhāva* cps by P. 2.1.7. The sense conveyed by *yathā* in these cps is stated as *anativṛtti* 'not going beyond.' See under P. 2.1.6, *yathā*. Since they are *avyayībhāva* cps, shortening of the final vowel is by P. 1.2.47. But, as shown in the *bhāṣya* on the present rule in the part starting with the word *ayathātathābhāva*, cp. formation is by P. 2.1.4.

7. We have no *Vts* on the rule, but there is a *bhāṣya*. Patañjali thinks that we can do without the present rule. We should not derive the forms concerned as *avyayībhāva* cps, but as *sup supā samāsa* formations by P. 2.1.4. Accordingly, we derive the forms *yathātathā* and *yathāpurā*. Here P. 2.1.47 cannot become applicable for shortening. Now two ways are open to us. Either we add the *taddhita* suffix

ṢyaÑ in the sense of *bhāva*, or we first form the *nañsamasa*. If first the *taddhita* formation by P. 5.1.124, then *ādivṛddhi* becomes applicable by P. 7.2.117. That gives us *yāthātathya*, after the deletion of the final *ā* by P. 6.4.148. Adding *naÑ* by P. 2.2.6 results in *ayathātathya*. If, on the other hand, *nañsamasa* is formed first, we get *āyathātathya*. The same for *yathāpura*. So, why phrase P. 7.3.31? The argument is another showpiece of a commentator's ingenuity.

8. The *Nyāsa* wonders, if *yathātathā* and *yathāpurā* are general *sup supā* cps, how can P. 7.3.31 read *yathātatha* in the text of the *sūtra*? Apparently, here shortening of the final vowel has taken place. But if *yathātathā*, etc., are *sup supā* cps, that shortening is not allowed. How to justify it, nevertheless? The *Nyāsa* does so by referring to the statement *chandovat sūtrāṇi bhavanti* '*sūtras* are treated like *chandas*.' And in *chandas* we go according to *dṛṣṭānuvidhi*, that is, see the desired forms and apply the rules accordingly.

9. We note that the *KV* in its commentary on P. 7.3.31 to our knowledge for the first time directly refers to the *bhāṣya* by saying *bhāṣye tu*.

10. P. 7.3.31 concludes the section dealing with *taddhita* formations in the *aṅgādhikāra*.

7.3.32 HANAS TO 'CIṆṆALOḤ '*t* (comes) in place of (the final of the verbal base *aṅga*) *han*- "to kill," (if a suffix marked with *Ñ* or *Ṇ* follows immediately,) except *CiṆ* or *ṆaL*'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *t* for the *n* of *han*, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *hanaḥ* (*aṅgasya*) *ñṇiti aciṇṇaloḥ*. *Han* is the verbal base mentioned in the *Dhp*. 2.2. *Hanaḥ* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, a substitute comes in place of the final phoneme of the *sthānin*. *Hanaḥ* discontinues *acaḥ* from P. 7.2.115. It also cancels *yathā...purayoḥ* from P. 7.3.31. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Ñṇiti* is continued from P. 7.2.115. *Aciṇṇaloḥ* is a du. gen. See *AP* VII, p. 131. *CiṆ* is the suffix of the 3rd sg. aor. pass. by P. 3.1.66. *ṆaL* is the 3rd sg. pf. ending by P. 3.4.82. The *vidheya* is *taḥ*. It discontinues *vṛddhiḥ* from P. 7.2.114.

It is interesting to see in detail how the present rule comes in direct continuation of P. 7.2.116. See our contention in P. 7.3.30, under 11. All items due to

anuvṛtti from P. 7.2.117 onwards, notably, *taddhiteṣu acām ādeḥ kiti*, have been discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. The break with the previous section is total.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) *ghātayati* 'he causes to kill.' The *ṇijanta* verbal base is *hāni*-. Substitution of the *vṛddhi* vowel for *a* by P. 7.2.116. Substitution of *t* for *n* by P. 7.3.32. *ŚaP* is added by P. 3.1.68. The *h* is replaced by *gh* by P. 7.3.54.

(b) *ghātaka* 'one who kills. ' The suffix is *ṆvuL* by P. 3.1.133, replaced by *aka* by P. 7.1.1. *H* is replaced by *gh* by P. 7.3.54.

(c) *sādhughāti* 'one who has the habit of killing good people.' As explained by the *Nyāsa*, this is an *upapada* cp. formed of *sādhu* and a *ṆvuL* derivation of *han*- by P. 3.2.78 in the sense of *tācchīlya*.

(d) *ghātaṅghātam* 'after having killed repeatedly.' The derivation is as follows:

(1) *han* + *ṆamUL*	P. 3.1.26; 3.4.22
(2) *hān* + *am*	P. 7.2.116
(3) *hāt* + *am*	P. 7.3.32
(4) *ghāt* + *am*	P. 7.3.54
(5) *ghātaṃghātam*	*Vt.* II on P. 8.1.12; P. 8.3.24
(6) *ghātaṅghātam* *ghātaṅghātam*.	P. 8.4.58

(e) *ghāto vartate* 'killing takes place.' As stated by the *Nyāsa*, the suffix is *GHaÑ*, added in the sense of *bhāva* 'action noun' by P. 3.3.18.

4. To point out the significance of the word *aciṇṇaloḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *aghāni* 'it was killed' (3rd person impersonal pass.) and *jaghāna* 'he has killed.'

The derivation of *aghāni* is as follows:

(1)	*han*-		*Dhp.* 2.2
(2)	*han*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.2.110
(3) *a* +	*han*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(4) *a* +	*han*	+ *ta*	P. 1.3.13; 3.4.78
(5) *a* +	*han* + *Cll*	+ *ta*	P. 3.1.43

(6) *a* + *han* + *CiṆ* + *ta* P. 3.1.66
(7) *a* + *han* + *i* + ° P. 6.4.104
(8) *a* + *hān* + *i* P. 7.2.116
(9) *a* + *ghān* + *i* P. 7.3.54
aghāni.

The derivation of *jaghāna* is as follows:

(2) *han* + *lIṬ* P. 3.2.115
(3) *han* + *han* + *lIṬ* P. 6.1.8
(4) *ha°* + *han* + *lIṬ* P. 7.4.60
(5) *gha* + *han* + *lIṬ* P. 7.4.62
(6) *gha* + *han* + *ti* P. 3.4.78
(7) *gha* + *han* + *ṆaL* P. 3.4.82
(8) *gha* + *hān* + *a* P. 7.2.116
(9) *gha* + *ghān* + *a* P. 7.3.55
(10) *ja* + *ghān* + *a* P. 8.4.54
jaghāna.

5. Referring to *Vt*. II on P. 7.2.114, the *KV* points out that a grammatical operation prescribed for a verbal base (*dhātu*) is allowed only, if a suffix (*kṛt* or *tiṄ*) is added after that base. See also *PN*, *pbh*. 88. So elsewhere we have *vārtraghna* 'a descendant of Vṛtrahan' where the substitution of *t* for *n* has not been applied. The (traditional) derivation is as follows:

A. (1) *vṛtrahan* + *KviP* P. 3.2.87
(2) *vṛtrahan* + ° P. 6.1.67
vṛtrahan.

B. (1) (*vṛtrahan* + *Ṅas*) + *aṆ* P. 4.1.2; 4.1.92
(2) (*vṛtrahan* + °) + *a* P. 2.4.71
(3) *vṛtrah°n* + *a* P. 6.4.134
(4) *vṛtraghn* + *a* P. 7.3.54
(5) *vārtraghna* P. 7.2.117
vārtraghna.

The point is that the $n \rightarrow t$ substitutionj is an operation applied to a *dhātu*. But °*ghna* is no longer a *dhātu*. It is simply a morpheme in a *taddhita* derivation. There the substitution referred to is not allowed

6. We have two *Vts* on the rule. *Vt*. I says that in the rule prescribing *t* (for *n*) of *han*- a prohibition (should be stated), when a *taddhita* suffix follows. The examples quoted by Patañjali are *vārtraghnam* and *bhrauṇaghnam* 'a descendant of an abortionist.' For the latter example compare *AP* IX, p. 361.

Vt. II is an *uktaṃ vā Vt*. It says that a statement has already been made. Reference is to *Vt*. II on P. 7.2.114.

7.3.33 ĀTO YUK CIṆKṚTOḤ '(the augment)' *yUK* (is added) to (a verbal base *aṅga* ending in) loṇg *ā*, if (the suffix) *CiṆ* or a *kṛt* (suffix marked with Ñ or Ṇ follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the insertion of the augment *yUK* on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *ātaḥ* (*aṅgasya*) *ciṇkṛtoḥ*. The function of the *anubandha T* in *ātaḥ* has been defined by P. 1.1.70. *Ātaḥ* is interpreted as *ādantasya* by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. It discontinues *hanaḥ* from P. 7.3.32. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in relation to *yUK*. An augment is added as part of an *aṅga*. *Ciṇkṛtoḥ* is a technical du. loc. form by P. 1.1.66. It discontinues *aciṇṇaloḥ* from P. 7.3.32. For CiṆ see P. 7.3.32, under 2. *Kṛt* is the general name of suffixes conveying the sense of *kartṛ* by P. 3.4.67. *Ñṇiti* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*, as *ñṇitoḥ*) from P. 7.2.115. *Ñṇitoḥ* covers both *CiṆ* and the *kṛt* suffix. The *vidheya* is *yUK*. It discontinues *taḥ* from P. 7.3.32. The function of the *anubandha K* is defined by P. 1.1.46.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *CiṆ*: *adāyi* 'it was given,' *adhāyi* 'it was put'

(b) For *kṛt*: *dāya* 'giving,' *dāyaka* 'heir,' *dhāya* 'putting, placing' and *dhāyaka* 'one who puts'

For the *prakriyā* of *adāyi* and *adhāyi* we refer to that of *aghāni* under P. 7.3.32. The two verbal bases concerned are *ḌUdāÑ* and *ḌUdhāÑ* (*Dhp*. 3.9 and 10). *YUK* may be added in any stage after *a* + *dā*/*dhā* + CiN + *ta*.

In *dāya*, analysed as *dā* + *yUK* + *a*, the *a* represents the *kṛt* suffix *GHaÑ* by P. 3.3.18, added in the sense of *bhāva* 'action noun.' *Dāyaka* is analysed as *dā* + *yUK*

+ *aka*. Here *aka* represents the *kṛt* suffix *ṆvuL* by P. 3.1.133, prescribed in the general sense of agent.

4. To point out the significance of the word *ciṇkṛtoḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *dadau* 'he has given,' *dadhau* 'he has put,' *cauḍiḥ* 'descendant of Cūḍā' and *bālāki* 'descendant of Balākā.' In the case of *dadau*, once we have reached the stage *dā*+ *dā* + *ṆaL*, the augment *yUK* becomes applicable because *ṆaL* is *Ṇit*. However, the insertion of *yUK* is ruled out because *ṆaL* is not a *kṛt* suffix. The same for *dadhau*.

Cauḍi is a *taddhita iÑ* derivation by P. 4.1.96. *Cūḍā* is mentioned in the *bāhvādi-gaṇa* on this rule (no. 10). Since *cūḍā* ends in long *ā*, the insertion of *yUK* would become applicable. But that is ruled out because of the condition *ciṇkṛtoḥ* in P. 7.3.33. The same for *balākā* (no. 11 in the same *gaṇa*).

One more counterexample, borrowed from Patañjali, is quoted. The form is *jña*, derived in the *taddhita* sense of 'that is his deity,' as explained by the *KV*. The derivation is as follows:

(1) *jña* + *aṆ*	P. 4.2.24
(2) *jñ°* + *a*	P. 6.4.148
jña.	

Here, if *yUK* is applied in stage 2, we would derive the undesired form **jñāya*. But that is prevented by the condition *kṛti* in the rule

5. We have no *Vt*. on the rule, but there is a *bhāṣya*. The question raised is whether the mention of *kṛt* in *ciṇkṛtoḥ* is needed. The final conclusion reached after after a brief technical argument is that it is needed.

7.3.34 NA UDĀTTA-UPADEŚASYA MĀNTASYA ANĀCAMEḤ '(*vṛddhi* does) not (come in place of short *a*) of (a verbal base *aṅga*) ending in *m* (and) which is mentioned in the *Dhp*. with *udātta* "high pitch," except *ācam*- "to sip," (if *CiṆ* or a *kṛt* suffix marked with *Ñ* or *Ṇ* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting *vṛddhi* for specified verbal bases, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *udāttopadeśasya māntasya* (*aṅgasya*) *anācameḥ* (*ñṇitoḥ ciṇkṛtoḥ*). For a list of *udāttopadeśa* verbal bases see *SK*, No. 2258, on P. 7.1.5.

Compare *AP* XI, P. 7.2.46, under 2. *Udāttopadeśasya māntasya* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. *Māntasya* discontinues *ātaḥ* (which means *ādantasya*) from P. 7.3.33. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Ācami* is the quotation form of the verbal base *ācam-* by *Vt.* II on P. 3.3.108. For *ñṇitoḥ* see P. 7.3.33, under 2. *Ciṇkṛtoḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.33. The *vidheya* is *na* (*vṛddhiḥ*), where *vṛddhiḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.116. As is the practice in the case of a prohibition, the *KV* says *yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati* 'what has been stated (earlier) that does not apply.' That is to say, the prohibition applies to what has been stated earlier.

The *KV* specifically says that *vṛddhiḥ* is to be continued from P. 7.2.116. This rule says that *vṛddhi* comes in place of the prefinal short *a* of a verbal base *aṅga* before a suffix marked with Ñ or Ṇ. Here *aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *ataḥ upadhāyāḥ*. Since *vṛddhiḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.116, the same construction must hold for *aṅgasya* in P. 7.3.34. We therefore interpret the rule as *udāttopadeśasya māntasya aṅgasya ataḥ upadhāyāḥ vṛddhiḥ na bhavati* '*vṛddhi* does not come in place of a prefinal short *a* of an *aṅga* which is *udāttopadeśa* and ends in *m* (if *CiṆ* or a *kṛt* suffix marked with Ñ or Ṇ follows immediately.'

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *CiṆ*: *aśami* 'it was calmed,' *atami* 'it was gasped for breath' and *adami* 'it was subdued'

(b) For *kṛt*: *śamaka* 'one who calms,' *tamaka* 'one who gasps for breath,' *damaka* 'one who subdues,' *śama* 'calming,' *tama* 'gasping for breath' and *dama* 'subduing.'

In the *Dhp.* (4.92, 93. 94) *śamU-*, *tamU-* and *damU-* have been marked with *udātta*. They are all of them *UDit* bases which preferably take *iḍāgama* before *Ktvā* (P. 7.2.56).

The *prakriyā* of *aśami* is as follows:

(1)	śamU-	*Dhp.* 4.92
(2)	śam + lUṄ	P. 3.2.110
(3)	a + śam + lUṄ	P. 6.4.71
(4)	a + śam + ClI + lUṄ	P. 3.1.43
(5)	a + śam + CiṆ + lUṄ	P. 3.1.66
(6)	a + śam + i + ta	P. 3.4.78
(7)	a + śam + i + °	P. 6.4.104

aśami.

Here, at stage (5), *vṛddhi* is applicable to the prefinal vowel by P. 7.2.116. It is prohibited by P. 7.3.34. The same for *atami* and *adami*.

In *śamaka*, etc., the suffix *ṆvuL* is added in the sense of agent by P. 3.1.133. *Vṛddhi*, applicable by P. 7.2.116, is prohibited by P. 7.3.34.

In *śama*, etc., the suffix added is *GHaÑ*, prescribed by P. 3.3.18 in the sense of *bhāva* 'action noun.' *Vṛddhi*, applicable by P. 7.2.116, is prohibited by P. 7.3.34

4. To point out the significance of the word *udāttopadeśasya* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *yāmaka* 'one who restrains' and *rāmaka* 'one who delights,' both *ṆvuL* derivations. The verbal bases *yam-* and *ram-* are *anudāttopadeśa*. Therefore the prohibition by P. 7.3.34 does not apply. Instead, *vṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.2.116.

5. But what about *udyama* 'effort' and *uparama* 'cessation'? The answer is that these forms are mentioned as ready-made forms in the *Dhp*. (1.380 and 1.1033), where they are used as meaning-explanations of verbal bases. On the latter point see *AP* III, P. 1.3.1, under 3.

6. To point out the significance of the mention of *upadeśa* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *śamī* 'one who is habitually calm,' *tamī* 'one who habitually gasps for breath' and *damī* 'one who habitually subdues.' These are *GHinUṆ* derivations by P. 3.2.141 in the senses defined by P. 3.2.134. The argument goes like this. According to P. 3.1.3, in *śamī*, etc., the initial vowel of *in* is *udātta*. By P. 6.1.158 a finished form can have one accent only. The actual accentuation is governed by *Vt*. IX on P. 6.1.158. The *Vt*. says that the accent of the element added last in the *prakriyā* prevails (*satiśiṣṭa*). The result is that *śamī*, etc., will become accented on the final syllable, and that the verbal bases concerned themselves become *anudātta*. Then why has *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116 not been applied? The answer is that what counts is the accentuation indicated in the *upadeśa*, that is, the *Dhp*., never mind what happens in the *prakriyā*. That is why the prohibition by P. 7.3.34 applies.

The reverse case is shown by *yāmaka*, etc. As explained by the *Nyāsa*, the verbal bases concerned are *anudāttopadeśa*. That is to say, they are not marked with *udātta* in the *Dhp*. The suffix added is *ṆvuL* (P. 3.1.133). *ṆvuL* is *Lit*. Therefore, by P. 6.1.193, the syllable preceding *ṆvuL* becomes *udātta*. But, clearly, this is what

happens in the *prakriyā*. Consequently, the prohibition by P. 7.3.34 does not apply. Instead, *vṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.2.116.

7. To point out the significance of the word *māntasya*, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *cāraka* 'one who moves about' and *pāṭhaka* 'one who recites.' The suffix added is *ṆvuL* again. Why no prohibition of *vṛddhi*? Simply, because *car-* and *paṭh-* do not end in *m*. Therefore *vṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.2.116.

8. To point out the significance of the exception *anācameḥ*, the *KV* quotes the counter example *ācāmaka* 'one who sips.' The suffix added is *ṆvuL* again. *Vṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.2.116.

9. The *KV* quotes - in a slightly different version - a *bhāṣyavārttika* mentioned by Patañjali in his *bhāṣya* on the present rule. The *bhāṣyavārttika* is meant to include two more verbal bases in the exception *anācameḥ* in P. 7.3.34. In the *KV* version it reads *an-ācami-kami-vamīnām iti vaktavyam* 'a statement should be made (which says:) excluding (the verbal bases) *ācam-* "to sip," *kam-* "to want sex" and *vam-* "to vomit".' The examples, borrowed from Patañjali, are *ācāma* 'sipping, '*kāma* 'wanting sex' and *vāma* 'vomiting.' The suffix added is *GHaÑ*, prescribed in the sense of *bhāva* 'action noun' by P. 3.3.18. *Vṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.2.116.

But how to justify the form *āma*? The *KV* derives it from the class X verbal base *am-* 'to be sick' (*Dhp.* 10.180). This verbal base (*am* + *ṆiC*, P. 3.1.25) does not come under the *mānta* bases of P. 7.3.34. Therefore *vṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.2.116. The *KV* explains further that *am-* is not a *mit* verbal base.Therefore P. 6.4.92, which says that a short vowel comes in place of the prefinal vowel of a *mit* base followed by *ṆiC* does not apply. Why is *am-* not a *mit* base? Because we have a *gaṇasūtra* which says *nānye mito 'hetau* '(with the exception of *jñap-*, etc.,) other (verbal bases ending in *m* are) not (considered *mit*),if the non-causative suffix (*ṆiC*) follows immediately.' For the complete *gaṇasūtra* see *SK*, No. 2570, on P. 7.3.36. Since, according to this *gaṇasūtra*, *am-* is not *mit*, P. 6.4.92 cannot become applicable for shortening the *ā* resulting from *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116.

10. The *KV* then criticizes the usage *sūryaviśrāmā bhūmiḥ* 'the earth is the resting place of the sun god.' Here *viśrāmā* is incorrectly derived. The reason, as explained by the *Nyāsa*, is that *śram-* (*Dhp.* 4.95), which ends in *am*, is not a *mit* verbal base according to the *gaṇasūtra jani-jṛṣ-knasu-rañjo 'mantāś ca* 'also *jan-*, *jṛṣ-*, *knas-*, *rañj-* and (verbal bases) ending in *am* (are called *mit*).' Consequently, we will first derive *viśrāma* by adding the suffix *GHaÑ* (P. 3.3.18) and applying *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116. But then, since *śram-* is *mit*, P. 6.4.92 applies for shortening, and the

correct form will be *viśrama*. The *mittva* of *śram-* cannot be denied by the *gaṇasūtra nānye mito 'hetau* quoted earlier, because *śram-* is not a *curādi* base, and, therefore, does not take the non-causative *ṆiC* by P. 3.1.25.

11. Finally, the *KV* emphasizes that the condition *ciṇkṛtoḥ* in the rule. P. 7.3.34 does not apply, if other suffixes are added to the *aṅga* concerned. Therefore we have *śaśāma* 'he has become quiet' and *tatāma* 'he has gasped for breath.' The condition *ciṇkṛtoḥ* does not block *vṛddhi*, if the suffix is *ṆaL*, which is neither *CiṆ* nor *kṛt* (P. 3.1.93).

12. We have no *Vts* on the rule, but there is a small *bhāṣya*. Here Patañjali mentions a *bhāṣyavārttika*. It says *avamikamicamīnām iti vaktavyam*. It is meant to include *kam-* and *vam-* in the exception *anācameḥ* in the rule. For the examples quoted see under 9, above.

13. We note that the *vṛddhi* rules P. 7.3.34 and 35 come in between the augment rule P. 7.3.33 and further augment rules from P. 7.3.36 to P. 7.3.40. The reason for putting them here may lie in the desired continuation of the condition *ciṇkṛtoḥ*. But even then the order of the rules could be changed, so that P. 7.3.34 and 35 come immediately after P. 7.3.31, as a direct continuation from P. 7.2.116 onwards, with the added mention of *ciṇkṛtoḥ*

7.3.35 JANI-VADHYOŚ CA 'also (*vṛddhi* does not come in place of the prefinal short vowel *a* of the verbal base *aṅgas*) *jani-* "to be born" and *vadhi* "to kill." (if *CiṆ* or a *kṛt* suffix marked with *Ñ* or *Ṇ* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting *vṛddhi* for two specified verbal bases on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*ataḥ upadhāyāḥ*) *janivadhyoḥ* (*aṅgayoḥ ciṇkṛtoḥ ñṇitoḥ*). *Ataḥ upadhāyāḥ* is continued from P. 7.2.116. *Jani-* and *vadhi-* are the quotation forms of the verbal bases *jan-* and *vadh-* by *Vt.* II on P. 3.3.108. For *vadh-* see below, under 4. *Janivadhyoḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgayoḥ*, which is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Aṅgayoḥ* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *ataḥ upadhāyāḥ*. For *ciṇkṛtoḥ* and *ñṇitoḥ* see P. 7.3.33, under 2. The *vidheya* is (*na vṛddhiḥ*). Here *na* is continued from P. 7.3.34 and *vṛddhiḥ* from P. 7.2.114.

The particle *ca* has a mere connective value.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *jan-*: *ajani* 'it was born' (impersonal pass.), *janaka* 'one who begets' and *prajana* 'begetting'

(b) For *vadh-*: *avadhi* 'it was killed' (impersonal pass.), *vadhaka* 'one who kills' and *vadha* 'killing'

For the derivation of *ajani* and *avadhi* see the one given for *aṁami* under P. 7.4.34. *Janaka* and *vadhaka* are *ṆvuL* derivations by P. 3.1.133. *Prajana* and *vadha* are *GHaÑ* derivations by P. 3.3.18. *Vṛddhi* applicable by P. 7.2.116 is prohibited by P. 7.3.35.

4. The *KV* says that *vadhi-* is a different stem ending in a consonant. That is to say, it is not identical with the verbal base *vadha-* ending in *a*, mentioned in P. 2.4.42-44. We recall that the *KV* on P. 2.4.42 specifically says that *vadha-* as the substitute of *han-* ends in *a*; that this *a* is deleted (by P. 6.4.48), and that we can justify the aor. (*sIC*) form *avadhīt* by *sthānivadbhāva* (P. 1.1.57). According to P. 1.1.57, when the question is of applying a grammatical operation (like *vṛddhi*) to the element preceding the item which has undergone the zero-substitution, the zero-substitute is treated like the original, by *sthānivadbhāva*. That is to say, even after the final *a* of *vadha* has been deleted, the position for applying grammatical operations is still *vadha*. That is why in *avadhīt* which is quoted as an example for P. 2.4.43, we cannot apply P. 7.2.7 for *vṛddhi*, because this rule does not allow intervention by two sounds (namely, *dh* and the following *a*) between the verbal base vowel and the aor. marker *sIC*. The conclusion is that *sthānivadbhāva* has taken care of the (desired) prohibition of *vṛddhi*. We refer to *STHĀNI*, Pt. I, Note (26) and p. 144, where the *prakriyā* of *avadhīt* has been stated in full. See also *AP* VIII, P. 2.4.42, under 6, and *AP* XI, P. 7.2.7, under 6.

This is the argument to which the *KV* returns in connection with the *CiṆ* aor. form *avadhi* as an example for P. 7.3.35. The question is, why hasn't *vṛddhi* been applied to the verbal base vowel by P. 7.2.116? Consider the derivational stage *a* + *vadha* + CiṆ + *lUṄ* (P. 2.4.44). Here the final *a* of *vadha* will be deleted by P. 6.4.48. According to P. 1.1.57, this *vadh°*, which ends in a consonant, will be treated as *vadha*. Consequently, we canot apply *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116, because this rule requires a short vowel in prefinal position. In *vadha* the prefinal position is taken up by a consonant. So no *vṛddhi*. But then, why quote *avadhi* as an example for the prohibition of *vṛddhi* by P. 7.3.35, when *sthānivadbhāva* does the job? That can only make sense, if the verbal base concerned is assumed to end in a consonant, namely, as *vadh-*, because here P. 7.2.116 can become applicable. In other words, *vadhi* is the

quotation form of *vadh-* which is nowhere mentioned in the *Dhp*. Presumably, a form like *vadhati* 'he kills' is not found in usage.

5. Our conclusion is that *avadhi* can be justified in two ways, either as a derivation of *vadha-*, by means of *sthānivadbhāva*, or as a derivation of *vadhi-*, by assuming that the verbal base concerned ends in a consonant. Now, what about *vadhaka*? We have no rule which tells us to substitute *vadha-* for *han-* before the *kṛt* suffix *ṆvuL* (P. 3.1.133). This implies, that, in order to derive the form *vadhaka*, we must start from the verbal base *vadh-*. This, precisely, is the verbal base quoted as *vadhi-* in P. 7.3.35.

Is *vadhaka* found in usage, or do we move in grammatical dreamland? The *KV* has already quoted *ghātaka* as the *ṆvuL* derivation of *han-* under P. 7.3.32. To answer this question, the *KV* quotes an (unidentified) usage. It reads *bhakṣakaś cen na vidyate vadhako 'pi na vidyate* 'if there would be no one who eats, there is no one who kills either.' That settles the matter. *Vadhaka* is an existing usage.

6. The *KV* finally emphasizes that P. 7.2.35 only applies on the condition *ciṇkṛtoḥ*. It does not apply when other suffixes are added. The counterexample is *jajāna garbhaṃ mahimānam indram* 'has given birth to a child, the great Indra' (Ath. V. 3, 10-12). Here the *tiṄ* suffix *ṆaL* has been added to *jan-* as a replacement of *tiP*, by P. 3.4.82.

7. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

8. The present rule closes the section dealing with *vṛddhi* which was continued from P. 7.2.114.

7.3.36 ARTI-HRĪ-VLĪ-RĪ-KNŪYĪ-KṢMĀYY-ĀTĀṂ PUK ṆAU '(the augment) *pUK* (is added) to (the verbal base *aṅgas*) *arti-* "to go," *hrī-* "to feel ashamed," *vlī-* "to crush," *rī* "to flow," *knūyī-* "to be wet," *kṣmayī-* "to shake" and to those ending in long *ā*, if (the suffix) *Ṇi*(*C*) follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the augment *pUK* for specified verbal bases, on the condition stated. P. 7.3.36 opens up a section dealing with augment before *ṆiC* up to P. 7.1.40 inclusive.

2. The *uddeśya* is *artihrīvlīrīknūyikṣmayyātām* (*aṅgānām*) *ṇau*. *Arti* is the quotation form of the verbal base *ṛ*-mentioned under three different classes in the *Dhp*. (1.983; 3.16; 5.29). *Knūyī* and *kṣmayī* have been mentioned in the *Dhp*. with

the *anubandha Ī* to prevent *iḍ-āgama* before *niṣṭhā*-suffixes by P. 7.2.14. *Ātām* is interpreted to mean *ādantānām* by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). *Arti...ātām* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgānām*. The word *aṅgānām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *pUK*. *Ṇau* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. It discontinues *ciṇkṛtoḥ* from P.7.3.33. Reference is to the causative suffix *ṆiC* prescribed by P. 3.1.26. The *vidheya* is *pUK*. The function of the *anubandha K* has been defined by P. 1.1.46. For causatives containing *p* see Whitney, § 1042, i -m. *PUK* is considered to be the general augment to which the augments introduced later on in the section concerned are exceptions.

According to the *KV*, every item which could be continued from a previous rule is discontinued, except *aṅgasya*. In some more detail the situation is like this. *Arti...ātām* discontinues *janivadhyoḥ* from P. 7.2.35. *Ṇau* cancels *ciṇkṛtoḥ* from P. 7.3.33. *Na* from P. 7.3.34 is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya* 'common sense.' The rule cannot mean that *pUK* is not applied, because *pUK* has not been prescribed before. Thus, practically, the present rule starts a new sub-section dealing with augments up to P. 7.3.40, inclusive.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *arti*: *arpayati* 'he causes to go'
(b) For *hrī*: *hrepayati* 'he causes to be ashamed'
(c) For *vlī*: *vlepayati* 'he causes to sink down'
(d) For *rī*: *repayati* 'he causes to move'
(e) For *knūy-*: *knopayati* 'he causes to creak'
(f) For *kṣmay-*: *kṣmāpayati* 'he causes to shake'
(g) For *ādanta* bases: *dāpayati* 'he causes to give' and *dhāpayati* 'he causes to put'

The *prakriyā* of *arpayati* is as follows:

(1) *ṛ-*					*Dhp*. 1.983, etc.
(2) *ṛ*	+ *ṆiC*				P. 3.1.26
(3) *ṛ-pUk*	+ *i*				P. 7.3.36
(4) *arp*	+ *i*				P. 7.3.86
(5) *arp*	+ *i*			+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(6) *arp*	+ *i*			+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(7) *arp*	+ *i*	+ *ŚaP*		+ *ti*	P. 3.1.68
(8) *arp*	+ *e*	+ *a*		+ *ti*	P. 7.3.84
(9) *arp*	+ *ay*	+ *a*		+ *ti*	P. 6.1.78

arpayati.

In *hrepayati* and *vlepayati guṇa* of the verbal base vowel is by P. 7.3.86, because the bases are *puganta*. They cannot come under the *laghūpadha* category in the same rule because they contain a long vowel. In *knopayati* and *kṣmāpayati* the final *y* of the verbal base is deleted before *pUK* by P. 6.1.66.

4. The *KV* says that the verbal base quoted as *arti-* is the base mentioned in the *Dhp.* nos 1.983 and 3.16 in the sense of 'to go.' *Rî-* is the base mentioned as no. 9.30 and 4.30 (*rĪṄ śravaṇe*).

5. Finally, the *KV* points out that *pUK* is added in final position of the preceding element. Reference is to P. 1.1.46. Why not added as the initial part of of the following element? The *KV* says that this is in order to have the desired shortening of the prefinal verbal base vowel in the caus. aor. form *adīdapat* 'he caused to give.' The argument behind this simple statement has been explained by the *Nyāsa*. It goes like this. Suppose the *sūtrakāra* had phrased his rule not with *pUK* but with *pUṬ*. In that case, *p* would be inserted at the beginning of the following element by P. 1.1.46. That would result, for instance, in the following analysis: *hrî + pi + a + ti*, where *pUṬ* is added as the initial to *ṆiC*. Since *ṆiC* is *ārdhadhātuka* (P. 3.4.114), *pi* will also be *ārdhadhātuka* (*PN*, *pbh.* 11). This being so, we can apply *guṇa* by P. 7.3.84, because *hrī* before the *ārdhadhātuka* suffix *pi* is *iganta*. That gives us *hre + pi* as the causative basis. For the derivation of the present tense caus. form *hrepayati* this makes no difference. We derive the correct form. So the question is, what inspired the *sūtrakāra* to say *puk ṇau*, and not *puṭ ṇau*? That answer to that is *adīdapat*.

The *prakriyā* of *adīdapat* is as follows:

(1)			*ḌUdāÑ-*			*Dhp.* 3.9
(2)			*dā*	+ *ṆiC*		P.3.1.26
(3)			*dā*	+ *pUK* + *i*		P. 7.3.36
(4)			*dāp*	+ *i*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.2.110
(5)	*a*	+	*dāp*	+ *i*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(6)	*a*	+	*dāp*	+ *i* + *ClI*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.1.43
(7)	*a*	+	*dāp*	+ *i* + *CaṄ*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.1.48
(8)	*a* + *dāp*	+	*dāp*	+ *i* + *a*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 6.4.11
(9)	*a* + *dap*	+	*dāp*	+ *i* + *a*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 7.4.59
(10)	*a* + *da°*	+	*dap*	+ *i* + *a*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 7.4.60
(11)	*a* + *di*	+	*dāp*	+ *i* + *a*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 7.4.79

(12) *a* + *dī*	+	*dāp*	+ *i* + *a*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 7.4.94
(13) *a* + *dī*	+	*dap*	+ *i* + *a*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 7.4.1
(14) *a* + *dī*	+	*dap*	+ ° + *a*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 6.4.51
(15) *a* + *dī*	+	*dap*	+ *a*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(16) *a* + *dī*	+	*dap*	+ *a*	+ *t*°	P. 3.4.100

adīdapat.

In stage (13) P. 7.4.1 is applied. This rule says that the prefinal vowel of an *aṅga* (like *dāp*) is shortened before *ṆiC* when followed by *CaṄ*. But in *dāp* the *ā* can only be in prefinal position, if it is followed by the augment *pUK*. We must therefore analyse the form as *a* + *dāp* + *i*, etc., and not as *a* + *dā* + *pi*, etc. This is why the *sūtrakāra* says *pUK* (*ṇau*), and not *pUṬ* (*ṇeḥ*).

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.37 ŚĀ-CHĀ-SĀ-HVĀ-VYĀ-VE-PĀṂ YUK '(the augment) *yUK* (is added) to (the verbal base *aṅgas*) *śā-* "to sharpen," *chā-* "to cut," *sā-* "to put an end to," *hvā-* "to challenge," *ve* "to weave" and *pā-* "to drink," (if the suffix *ṆiC* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the insertion of the augment *yUK* in seven specified verbal bases, on the condition stated. The augment is introduced as an exception to *pUK* in P. 7.2.36.

2. The *uddeśya is śāchāsāhvāvyāvepām* (*aṅgānām*) *yuk* (*ṇau*). *Śāp...ām* discontinues *arti...ātām* from P. 7.3.36. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgānām*. The verbal base finals *o* (as in *śo-*, *cho* and *so-*) and *e* (as in *hve-*, *vye-* and *ve-* belonging to Pāṇini's *upadeśa* are replaced by *āT*, by P. 6.1.45. So also *ai* in *pai-*. The word *aṅgānām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *yUK*. The condition *ṇau* is continued from P. 7.3.36. The *vidheya* is *yUK*. The augment *yUK* is added as the final part of the preceding element by P. 1.1.46. For causative formations from verbal bases ending in *ā*, not showing the augment *pUK* see Whitney, § 1042, k. For *vā-* / *veÑ*, *vyā-* and *hvā-* see Whitney, § 761, f.

Since the verbal bases with the exception of *ve-* are mentioned as ending in *ā*, this clearly indicates that the *ā*-substitution (by P. 6.1.45) is applied first, and that the *yUK*-insertion comes afterwards only.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *śā*: *niśāyayati*

(b) For *chā-:avacchāyati*. Here also the augment *tUK* is added to *ava* by P. 6.1.73.. Sandhi is applied by P. 8.4.40.

(c) For *sā*: *avasāyayati*

(d) For *hvā-*: *hvāyayati*

(e) For *vyā-*: *saṃvyāyayati*

(f) For *ve-*: *vāyayati*

(g) For *pā-*: *pāyayati*

The *prakriyā* of *niśāyayati* is as follows:

(1) *ni* + *śo-*	*Dhp*.4.39
(2) *ni* + *śā*	P. 6.1.45
(3) *ni* + *śā* + *ṆiC*	P. 3.1.26
(4) *ni* + *śā-yUK* + *i*	P. 7.3.37
(5) *ni* + *śāy* + *i* + *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(6) *ni* + *śāy* + *i* + *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(7) *ni* + *śāy* + *i* + *ŚaP* + *ti*	P. 3.1.68
(8) *ni* + *śāy* + *e* + *a* + *ti*	P. 7.3.84
(9) *ni* + *śāy* + *ay* + *a* + *ti*	P. 6.1.78
niśāyayati.	

Similarly for the other verbal bases mentioned in the rule.

4. The *KV* explains that the mention of *pā-* in the rule includes both *pā-* 'to drink' (*Dhp*. 1.972) and *pai- śośane* 'to whither' (*Dhp*. 1.968). It does, however, not include *pā-* 'to protect' (*Dhp*. 2.47). The reason given is that this verbal base is a *lugvikaraṇa* base. Reference is to what has become *PN*, *pbh*. 90. This *pbh*. says that out of two verbal bases mentioned in a rule, one of which is *lugvikaraṇa*, that is a class II verbal base, and the other is not, the *aluguvikaraṇa* base is to be selected.

5. The *KV* quotes *Vt*. II on the rule. The *Vt*. says that the augment *lUK* is to be added in the causative of *pā-* 'to protect.' That gives us *pālayati*. According to Whitney, § 1042, m, it is formed from a denominative base.

6. The *KV* also quotes part of *Vt*. I on the rule. The *Vt*. says that in the section dealing with *ṆiC* the statement should be made that the augment *nUK* is to be added before *ṆiC* as the final part of *dhū?*- 'to shake' (*Dhp*. 9.17) and *prīÑ*- 'to feel satisfied' (*Dhp*. 9.2). That gives us *dhūnayati* 'he causes to shake' and *prīṇayati* 'he causes to feel satisfied.' The examples are borrowed from Patañjali.

7. Referring to the discussion on *adīdapat* under P. 7.2.36, the *KV* points out that the causatives derived by P. 7.3.37 presuppose the addition of *pUK*, *lUK* and *nUK* as the final part of the preceding element, i.e., of the preceding verbal base *aṅga*. They do not form the initial part of the following element, i.e., the suffix *ṆiC*, as would have been the case, if the suffixes had been mentioned as *pUṬ*, *lUṬ* and *nUṬ*. The latter would create problems in the caus. aor. forms *nyaśīśayat* 'he caused to put an end to,' *apīpalat* 'he caused to protect' and *adūdhunat* 'he caused to shake' for exactly the same reason as in the case of *adīdapat*. The reason is that in this way we cannot account for the shortening of the prefinal verbal base vowel

8. The *KV* notes that the verbal bases *śā*-, *chā*-, *sā*-, *hvā*- and *vyā*- stated in P. 7.3.37 have not been mentioned in their *upadeśa* form, but as *lākṣaṇika* forms, resulting from the application of P. 6.1.45. The question is, why? The answer is that thereby we learn that the *lakṣaṇaprātipadoktaparibhāṣā* is not applicable in the section dealing with *ṆiC* formations of *ādanta* verbal bases. Reference is to *PN*, *pbh*. 105. This *pbh*. tells us that, when we encounter a form which could be interpreted as belonging to Pāṇini's *upadeśa*, since it has been directly stated in the *sūtrapāṭha* (or in the *Dhp*.) and which could be interpreted as being the result of the application of a rule, we must opt for the first interpretation. But, apparently, this does not work in the case of P. 7.3.36-37. Here the *sūtrakāra* has mentioned the *lākṣaṇika* forms of most of the verbal bases concerned. Assuming that *pbh*. 105 does not apply in the present context, we can justify the forms *adhyāpayati* 'he causes to learn' and *jāpayati* 'he causes to conquer.' The two verbal bases concerned are *adhi*- (*adhi* + *iṆ*) and *ji*-. Here the vowel *i* is replaced by *ā* before *ṆiC*, by P. 6.1.48, and *pUK* is added by P. 7.3.36. For the derivation compare the one of *arpayati* (under P. 7.3.36), or that of *niśāyayati*, stated above.

The *Nyāsa* informs us that, although *ve*- has been directly stated in the present rule and shows the same vowel as used in the *Dhp*. (*veÑ*-, 1.1055), this does not means that *vai*- (*Ovai*-, *Dhp*. 1.969) is also included. That could only be, if *ve*- had been mentioned as *vā*- in P. 7.3.37. For *Ovai* see P. 7.3.38.

9. We have two *Vts* on the rule. They have been dealt with under 5 and 6 above. Patañjali merely provides the examples.

7.3.38 VO VIDHŪNANE JUK '(the augment) *jUK* (is added) to (the verbal base *aṅga vā-* "to dry up," (if the suffix *ṆiC* follows immediately), provided that the sense of *vidhūnana* "causing to move to and fro" is conveyed'

1. This is a *vidhisutra*, prescribing the augment *jUK* for a specified verbal base, on the condtions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *vaḥ* (*aṅgasya ṇau*) *vidhunane*. *Vaḥ* is the sg. gen. of the nominal stem *vā* derived as a *KviP* formation by P. 3.2.76 and 6.1.67. The *ā* of *vā* is deleted before the gen. ending *Ṅas* by P. 6.4.64. *Vā-* is mentioned as *Ovai-* in the *Dhp*. (1.969). Thus *vai-* is an *Odit* base. For the function of the *anubandha O* see P. 8.2.45. *Vaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*, which is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *jUK*. The condition *ṇau* is continued from P. 7.3.36. *Vidhūnane* is a loc. meaning condition. The *vidheya* is *jUK*. The augment is added as the final part of the preceding element, that is, of the verbal base *aṅga*, by P. 1.1.46.

The rule has been placed here presumably because of the connection with *ve-* in P. 7.3.37. See this rule, under 8.

3. The example quoted by the *KV* is *pakṣeṇa upavāyayati* '(the bird) causes itself to dry up by (fluttering) its wings.'

4. To point out the significance of the condition *vidhūnane* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *āvāpayati keśān* 'she causes her hair to dry.' Apparently, the sense of shaking to and fro is not conveyed here. The augment *pUK* is added by the general rule P. 7.3.36.

5. Why phrase this rule at all? We can derive the form *vājayati* from the verbal base *vaj-* 'to move' (*Dhp*. 1.271). The answer is, to avoid the addition of the augment *pUK*, namely, to *vai-*. The *KV* quotes the *Dhp*. 1.968-969, *pai ovai śoṣaṇe*, to show that (*upa-*)*vājayati* is derived from this *vai-*.

6. According to G.B. Palsule, *The Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas - A Critical Study*. Poona 1961, p. 161, the text of the meanings assigned to verbal bases is ascribed to Bhîmasena (date uncertain, maybe 14th cent.). But, as shown under 5. above, the *KV* already knows meaning entries in the *Dhp*. See also *AP* XI, P. 7.2.23, under 2.

7. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.39 LĪLOR NUKLUKĀV ANYATARASYĀM SNEHAVIPĀTANE '(the augments) *nUK* and *LUK* (are added respectively) to (the verbal base *aṅgas*) *lī*- "to be sticky" and *lā*- optionally, (if the suffix *ṆiC* follows immediately), provided that the sense of melting of fat is conveyed'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the optional, non-preferential addition of *nUK* and *lUK* to two specified verbal bases.

2. The *uddeśya* is *līloḥ* (*aṅgayoḥ ṇau*) *snehavipātane*. *Līloḥ* is a du. gen. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgayoh*). *Lī*- covers two verbal bases, mentioned as *līṄ* (*Dhp*. 4.31) and *lī*- (*Dhp*. 9.31). For *lī*- see Whitney, § 1042, m. *Lā*- also covers two verbal bases, first, *lā*- as the *lākṣaṇika* form of *lī*- in which the *ī* has been replaced by *ā*, by P. 6.1.51, and, secondly, the *aupadeśika* verbal base *lā*- 'to obtain' (*Dhp*. 2.49). *Līloḥ* discontinues *vaḥ*- from P. 7.3.38. *Aṅgayoḥ* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *nuklukau*. The condition *ṇau* is continued from P. 7.3.36. *Snehavipātane* is a loc. meaning condition. The *vidheya* is *nuklukau anyatarasyām*. Being marked with *K*, the augments are added as the final part of the preceding element, that is, the verbal base *aṅga*, by P. 1.1.46. Given the exact numerical equality of the set of verbal bases and the set of augments, P. 1.3.10 tells us that a one-to-one correspondence is established between them. Thus *nUK* is added optionally to *lî*-, and *lUK* to *lā*-. *Nuklukau* discontinues *jUK* from P.7.3.38. For *anyatarasyām* see Kiparsky 1979, p. 1.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *lī*-: *ghṛtaṃ vilīnayati* (*nUK* is optionally added)/*vilālayati* 'he causes to melt'

(b) For *lā*-: *ghṛtaṃ vilālayati* (*lUK* is optionally added/*vilāpayati* (*lUK* is optionally not added, but *pUK* is) 'he causes to melt ghee'

The (abbreviated) *prakriyā* of *vilīnayati* is as follows:

(1) *vi* + *lī* + *ṆiC*	P. 3.1.26
(2) *vi* + *lī* + *nUK* + *i*	P. 7.3.39
(3) *vi* + *lī* + *n* + *i* + *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(4) *vi* + *lī* + *n* + *i* + *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(5) *vi* + *lī* + *n* + *i* + *ŚaP* + *ti*	P. 3.1.68
(6) *vilīnayati*	P. 7.3.84; 6.1.78

The (abbreviated) *prakriyā* of *vilālayati* is as follows:

(1) *vi* + *lī* + *ṆiC*	P. 3.1.26
(2) *vi* + *lai* + *i*	P. 7.2.115
(3) *vi* + *lāy* + *i*	P. 6.1.78
(4) *vilālayati*	P. 3.2.123; 3.4.78; 3.1.68; 7.3.84; 6.1.78

The form *vilāpayati* is a regular formation by P. 7.3.36 (...*ātām*).

4. The *KV* says that in *lī- praśleṣasandhi* (*lī* + *ī*) has been assumed (P. 6.1.101), and that after this base ending in *ī* only the augment *nUK* - the Benares ed. of the *KV* wrongly reads *lUK* - is added, not after the base *lā-* in which *āttva* has been applied to *lī-*. The assumption of *praśleṣasandhi* serves to ensure that *lī-* is *lī-* and not *lā-*. If, on the other hand, *āttva* has been applied to *lī-*, and, consequently, *lī-* does not end in *ī* any more, we add *lUK*. P. 6.1.51 says that the *ī* of the class IV verbal base *lī-* is optionally replaced by *ā* before the suffix *LyaP*, or before a suffix (like *ṆiC*) which causes the verbal base vowel to be replaced by an *eC* sound, that is, by *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*. The word *ecaḥ* is continued in P. 6.1.51 from P. 6.1.45. *ṆiC* causes *vṛddhi*, by P. 7.2.115 Thus P. 6.1.51 optionally - as the non-preferred option - allows *āttva* of *lī-*. In that case, P. 7.3.39 prescribes optionally - without preference - the augment *lUK*. That gives us *vilālayati*. If *lUK* is not added, we add *pUK*, as stated above. The same forms are available for the class II verbal base *lā-* 'to obtain.'

5. To point out the significance of the meaning condition *snehavipātane*, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *jatu vilāpayati* 'he causes to melt lac' and *jaṭābhir ālāpayate* 'he causes to conceal by means of his matted hair.' The *ātm.* ending is by P. 1.3.70 (b).

6. Finally, the *KV* says that *lī-* includes *līṄ-* (*Dhp.* 4.31) and *lī-* (*Dhp.* 9.31). The *lā-* of P. 7.3.39 stands for both the class II verbal base *lā-* (*Dhp.* 2.49, *lā ādāne*) and the *lā-* in which *āttva* has been applied by P. 6.1.51.

7. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.40 BHIYO HETUBHAYE ṢUK '(the augment) *ṣUK* (is added) to (the verbal base *aṅga*) *bhī-* "to fear," (if the suffix *ṆiC* follows immediately,) provided that the sense of fear for the causing agent is conveyed'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the augment *ṣUK* for a specified verbal base, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeṣya* is *bhiyaḥ* (*aṅgasya ṇau*) *hetubhaye*. *Bhiyaḥ* is the sg. gen. of the nominal stem *bhī*- derived as a *KviP* formation by P. 3.2.76 and 6.1.67. *IyAṄ-ādeśa* is applied by P. 6.4.77. *Bhiyaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. It discontinues *līloḥ* form P. 7.3.39. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Bhiyaḥ aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *ṣUK*. The condition *ṇau* is continued from P. 7.3.36. *Hetubhaye* is a loc. meaning condition. The form itself is an abl. *tp*. cp. by P. 2.1.37. Here *hetu* is used in the technical sense of 'causing agent' (P. 1.4.55). The same form is used in P. 6.1.56. *Hetubhaye* discontinues *snehavipātane* from P. 7.3.39. The *vidheya* is *ṣUK*. The augment is added as the final part of the preceding element, that is, the verbal base *aṅga*, by P. 1.1.46. According to *FANU*, p. 273, convention 31, terms for optionality (like *anyatarasyām* in P. 7.3.39) are not continued in the following rule, if it prescribes a different *vidheya*.

For a detailed explanation of the term *hetu* signifying the *prayojakakartṛ* (P. 1.4.55) and the difference between *hetu* and *karaṇa* see *KĀRA*, Notes (18) and (19), and *AP* VII, p. 45-46.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *muṇḍo bhīṣayate* 'the shaven-headed man frightens' and *jaṭilo bhīṣayate* 'the one having matted hair frightens.' The same examples were quoted by the *KV* on P. 1.3.68. See *AP* III, p. 133.

4. The *KV* repeats the *praśleṣasandhi*-trick used in connection with *lī*-. See P. 7.3.39, under 4. *Bhī*- in P. 7.3.40 is analysed as *bhī* + *ī*, to ensure that *ṣUK* is only added to this *bhī*-. It is not added when the *ī* of *bhī*- is replaced by *ā*m, by P. 6.1.51. In that case, *pUK* is added by P. 7.3.36. According to P. 6.1.51, *āttva* is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) applied to *bhī*-, when fear for the causing agent is conveyed. Consequently, *ṣUK* is not added, because *bhī*- does not end in *ī* any more. The example quoted by the *KV* is *muṇḍo bhāpayati* 'the shaven-headed man frightens.' Here *pUK* is added by P. 7.3.36.

5. To point out the significance of the meaning condition *hetubhaye*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *kuñcikayā enaṃ bhāyayati* 'he frightens him by means of a mask (?),' borrowed from Patañjali (*Mbh*. III, p. 39, line 3). The same counterexample was quoted by the *KV* on P. 1.3..68. Here *kuñcika* is not the *hetu* 'causing agent' of fear, but the *karaṇa* (P. 1.4.42).

For the three different causative formations of *bhî*- see *AP* III, p. 133, and Whitney, § 1042, l.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7. The present rule ends the sub-section dealing with augments in *ṆiC* formations.

7.3.41 SPHĀYO VAḤ '*v* (comes) in place of (the final phoneme of the verbal base *aṅga*) *spāy-* "to swell,"(if the suffix *ṆiC* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *v* for the final of *sphāy-*, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *sphāyaḥ* (*aṅgasya ṇau*). *SphāyĪ-* is a class I verbal base (*Dhp.* 1.516). The function of the *anubandha Ī* has been defined by P. 7.2.14. *Sphāyaḥ* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49, formed of the nominal stem *sphāy* derived as a *KviP* formation by P. 3.2.76 and 6.1.67. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. It discontinues *bhiyaḥ* from P. 7.3.40. *Aṅgasya*, which is a technical gen., is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Ṇau* is continued from P. 7.3.36. The meaning condition *hetubhaye* from P. 7.3.40 is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya* 'common sense.' There is nothing in P. 7.3.41 which could warrant its continuation. The *vidheya* is *vaḥ*. It discontinues *ṣUK* from P. 7.3.40. According to P. 1.1.52, a substitute replaces the final of a *sthānin*.

3. The example quoted by the *KV* is *sphāvayati* 'he causes to swell.' See Whitney, § 1042, m.

4. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

5. The present rule opens up a new sub-section dealing with phoneme substitutions before different suffixes up to P. 7.3.77 inclusive. *Ṇau* is continued up to P. 7.3.43 inclusive.

7.3.42 ŚADER AGATAU TAḤ '*t* (comes) in place of (the final phoneme of the verbal base *aṅga*) *śad-* "to fall down," (if the suffix *ṆiC* follows immediately), provided that the sense of moving on is not conveyed'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *t* for the final phoneme of *ṁad-*, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *śadeḥ* (*aṅgasya ṇau*) *agatau*. *ŚadḶ-* is a class I verbal base (*Dhp.* 1.908). The function of the *anubandha Ḷ* is defined by P. 3.1.55. *Śadi-* is the quotation form of *śad-* by *Vt.* II on P. 3.3.108. *Śadeḥ* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. It discontinues *sphāyaḥ* from

P. 7.3.41. *Aṅgasya*, which is a technical gen., is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Ṇau* is continued from P. 7.3.36. *Agatau* is a loc. meaning condition. The *vidheya* is *taḥ*. According to P. 1.1.52, a substitute replaces the final phoneme of the *sthānin*. *Taḥ* discontinues *vah* from P. 7.2.41.

3. The example quoted by the *KV* is *puṣpāṇi śādayati* 'he causes the flowers to fall down.' *Vṛddhi* of the verbal base vowel is by P. 7.2.116.

4. To point out the significance of the meaning condition *agatau*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *gāḥ śādayati gopālakaḥ* 'the cowherd causes the cows to move on.'

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.43 RUHAḤ PO 'NYATARASYĀM '*p* (comes) optionally in place of (the final phoneme of the verbal base *aṅga*) *ruḥ* "to come up, grow," (if the suffix *ṆiC* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the optional substitution of *p* for the final phoneme of a specified verbal base, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *ruhaḥ* (*aṅgasya ṇau*). *RuhA-* is a class I verbal base (*Dhp.* 1.912). *Ruhaḥ* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49 of the nominal stem *ruh* derived as a *KviP* formation by P. 3.2.76 and 6.1.67. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. It discontinues *śadeḥ* from P. 7.3.42. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Ṇau* is continued from P. 7.3.36. The *vidheya* is *paḥ anyatarasyām*. *Paḥ* discontinues *taḥ* from P. 7.3.42. According to P. 1.1.52, a substitute replaces the final phoneme of the *sthānin*.

3. The example quoted by the *KV* is *vrīhīn ropayati/rohayati* 'he causes the rice plants to grow.'

4. The *Nyāsa* wonders why the rule is required at all. Reference is made to the statement *rupa lupa vimohane* (*Dhp*. 4.125-126). Here mention is of a verbal base *rup-* from which we can derive the form *ropayati*. This verbal base can be used in the sense of 'to grow,' because verbal bases have many meanings. But the *Nyāsa* rejects this by saying that, although verbal bases have many meanings, this should not be interpreted to mean that they can convey any meaning. When we say *rupyati* the sense of 'to grow' is not understood, but only that of *vimohana* 'confucion.' The *Nyāsa* passage is worth mentioning, not because of any intrinsic grammatical value,

but because here, like in the *KV* on P. 7.3.38, we find the mention of a meaning entry for a verbal base in the *Dhp*. far before Bhîmasena.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

6. The present rule closes the sub-section starting from P. 7.3.36, dealing with phoneme replacements conditioned by a following *ṆiC*.

7.3.44 PRATYAYASTHĀT KĀT PŪRVASYĀTA ID ĀPY ASUPAḤ 'short *i* (comes) in place of short *a* which comes before *k* belonging to a suffix (of a nominal base *aṅga*), if (the fem. suffix) *āP* follows immediately, provided that (*āP*) does not come after a case ending'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *i* for *a* in a suffixal context on the condition stated. The sequence in question is *x* + [*a* + *ka*] + *āP*, but not *x* + [*a* + *suP* + *ka*] + *āP*, as will be explained hereafter. The inner sequence [*a* + *ka*] is either the result of adding the *taddhita* suffix *ka* (P. 5.3.70, ff.), or of replacement of the element *vu* (as in *ṆvuL*, *vuÑ*) by P. 7.1.1, or of adding the *taddhita* suffix *akAC* (P. 5.3.71).

The present rule opens up a sub-section up to P. 7.3.49 inclusive, dealing with *ittva* 'the substitution of (short) *i*' up to P. 7.3.49 inclusive.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya*) *pratyayasthāt kat pūrvasya ataḥ āpi asupaḥ*. Here *aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1, does not refer to a verbal base *aṅga*, but to a nominal base *aṅga*. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *pratyaya*°. The word *pratyayasthāt* qualifies *kāt*. The abl. ending is dependent on construction with the *dikśabda pūrva* (P. 2.3.29). *Pūrvasya* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *ataḥ*. The word *ataḥ* is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. The function of the *anubandha T* in *aTah* has been defined by P. 1.1.70. *Āp* is the cover term for three fem. suffixes, *ṬāP* (P. 4.1.4), *ḌāP* (P. 4.1.11-13) and *CāP* (P. 4.1.74). *Āpi* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. *Asupaḥ* is a *nañtatpuruṣa* cp. by P. 2.2.6. It is a technical abl. by P. 1.1.67. *Pratyayasthat kāt pūrvasya id āpi asupaḥ* discontinues *ṇau* from P 7.3.36. The *KV* explains *asupaḥ* as *sa ced āp supaḥ paro na bhavati* 'if that *āP* does not follow after a case ending,' that is, as a *prasajyapratiṣedha* type of negation. The *uddeśya* as a whole cancels *ruhaḥ* from P. 7.3.43. The *vidheya* is *iT*. For *T* see P. 1.1.70. *IT* discontinues *paḥ* from P. 7.3.43. According to *FANU*, p. 273, convention 31, terms for optionality are not continued in a following rule, if that contains a different *vidheya*. Thus *anyatarasyām* from P. 7.3.43 is cancelled.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *jaṭilikā* 'a woman having matted hair,' *muṇḍikā* 'a shaven-headed woman, a nun,' *kārikā* 'a woman who acts,' *hārikā* 'a woman who takes (things) away' and *etikāś caranti* 'these women move about.'

As stated by the *Nyāsa*, *jaṭilikā* and *muṇḍikā* are *taddhita ka*-derivations in the meanings of *ajñata*, etc. Reference is to P. 5..3.72, ff. *Kārikā* and *hārikā* are *ṆvuL*-derivations by P. 3.1.133. These two examples are borrowed from Patañjali (*Mbh.* III, p. 323, lines 15-16). *Etikās* is a pl. nom. pronoun based on an *akAC*-derivation from *etad* by P. 5.3.71. The examples comes from *Vt*. I on P. 7.3.44.

The derivation of *jatilikā* is as follows:

(1) *jatila*	+ *ka*	P. 5.3.70 (*svārthe*)
(2) *jatilaka*	+ *TāP*	P. 4.1.4
(3) *jatilika*	+ *ā*	P. 7.3.44
(4) *jatilikā*		P. 6.1.101
jatilikā.		

The *prakriyā* of *kārikā* is as follows:

(1) *kṛ*	+ *ṆvuL*	P. 3.1.133
(2) *kār*	+ *vu*	P. 7.2.115
(3) *kār*	+ *aka*	P. 7.1.1
(4) *kāraka*	+ *ṬāP*	P. 4.1.4
(5) *kārika*	+ *ā*	P. 7.3.44
(6) *kārikā*		P. 6.1.101
kārikā.		

The *prakriyā* of *etikās* is as follows:

(1) *etad*		+ *Jas*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *et-akAC-ad*		+ *as*	P. 5.3.71
(3) *etakaa*		+ *as*	P. 7.2.102
(4) *etaka*		+ *as*	P. 6.1.97
(5) (*etaka*	+ *ṬāP*)	+ *as*	P. 4.1.4
(6) (*etika*	+ *ā*)	+ *as*	P. 7.3.44
(7) *etikā*		+ *as*	P. 6.1.101
(8) *etikās*			P. 6.1.101
etikās.			

ṬāP is added to a *prātipadika*, before a case ending. In *etikās* the *t* → *s* substitution by P. 7.2.102 is not applied because of the condition *sau* 'provided that (the case ending) *sU* follows' in this rule.

4. To point out the significance of the word *pratyaya* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *śākā*, derived in the agent sense of *śaknoti* 'she is capable.' *Śākā* is an *aC* derivation by P. 3.1.134, to which *ṬāP* has been added. Here the *k* is not part of a suffix, but of the verbal base itself.

5. The *KV* says that °*stha* is added to *pratyaya* for the sake of clarity. Since there is no suffix which consists of *k* only, there is no need to say *pratyayasthāt kāt*. *Pratyayāt kāt* would have done. The *a* added after *k* is *uccāraṇārtha* 'for ease of pronunciation' only. The *KV* phrase *kakāramātraṃ pratyayo nāstīti* 'there is no suffix consisting of *k* only' is clearly reminiscent of Patañjali's phrase *kevalaḥ kakāraḥ pratyayo nāstîti kṛtvā* (*Mbh*. III, p. 323, lines 16-17).

6. To point out the significance of the word *kāt*, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *maṇḍanā* 'a cheerful woman' and *ramaṇā* 'a charming woman.' The *Nyāsa* explains that these are *Lyu*-derivations by P. 3.1.134. *Lyu* is replaced by *ana* by P. 7.1.1. *Ana* has no *k*.

7. To point out the significance of the word *pūrvasya*, the *KV* says that it has been used so that the substitution should not apply to *a* which comes after *k*. That is to say, at the stage *paṭuka* + *ā* the *a* after *k* could be replaced by *i* before *ṬāP*, if the word *pūrva* is not mentioned. In that stage two rules are applicable, (1) the sandhi rule P. 6.1.101, and (2) the *i*-substitution rule P. 7.3.44. According to *PN*, *pbh*. 55, the latter rule would prevail because if prescribes an *āṅgakārya*. That would give us *paṭuki* + *ā*, and, eventually, *paṭukyā*, by P. 6.1.77. This is not desired. That is why P. 7.3.44 says *pūrvasya*. The counterexamples are *paṭukā* 'a smart woman' and *mṛdukā* 'a gentle woman.' These forms are derived from *paṭuka/mṛduka*, formed with the *taddhita* suffix *ka* (P. 5.3.73 ff.), *svārthe*. Here the *a* comes after *k*.

8. To point out the significance of the word *ataḥ*, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *gokā* 'a small cow' and *naukā* 'a little boat.' Here, obviously, *k* is not preceded by short *a*.

9. To point out the significance of the *anubandha T* in *aTaḥ*, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *rākā* 'day of the full moon' and *ḍhākā* (meaning unknown). Both words are *uṇādi*-derivations with *ka* (see *SK*, No. 327). Here, obviously, there is no short *a* preceding *k*.

10. What does the word *āpi* in the rule qualify? It qualifies *k*. That is to say, *k* must be followed by *āP* immediately. An objection is raised. If that is so, then we have a difficulty in justifying the *i*-substitution by P. 7.3.44 in *kārikā*. The reason is that in the sequence *kāraka* + *ṬāP* the fem. suffix does not immediately follow after *k*. It is separated from *k* by an intervening *a*. The obvious solution would be to say that we wil apply *ekādeśa* 'single substitution' by P. 6.1.101 first. That gives us *kārakā*. Here the final *ā* (part of which is *ṬāP*) follows immediately after *k*. Therefore the condition *āpi* is met, and we can apply the *i*-substitution by P. 7.3.44. The *KV*, following Patañjali (*Mbh*. III, p. 324, lines 16-18), points out that this solution fails because of the *sthānivadbhāva* rule P. 1.1.57. This rule tells us that the substitute of a vowel which is conditioned by a following element is treated like the original vowel, when a grammatical operation is to be applied to an element which immediately precedes the substitute. See *STHĀNI*, Pt. I, note (128), *Bh*. No. 87, and *AP* I, P. 1.1.57, under 1. Thereby the original position of *kāraka* + *ṬāP* is restored, and we cannot apply P. 7.3.44, because *a* intervenes between *k* and *ṬāP*. Then how to still justify the *i*-substitution? This is done by pointing out that, since otherwide P. 7.3.44 would be redundant (*vacanāt*), we accept such intervention as is caused by *sthānivadbhāva* by means of one single phoneme. So we will stil apply P. 7.3.44.

Does that also hold good when the two sounds concerned, namely, the *k* and the *ā* of *āP*, are separated by more than one phoneme? The *KV* quotes the examples *rathakaṭyā* 'a multitude of chariots,' etc., borrowed from *Vt*. III on P. 7.3.44. The argument is stated by Patañjali (*Mbh*. III, p. 324, lines 10-12), and explained by the *Nyāsa*. It goes as follows. We derive *rathakaṭyā* from *ratha* + *kaṭyaC* + *ṬāP* by P. 4.1.52 and P. 4.1.4. We can clearly hear that the *k* and the *ā* of *ṬāP* are separated from each other by three phonemes, *a*, *ṭ* and *y*. In *kārikā*, on the other hand, the sound intervening between *k* and the *ā* of *ṬāP* is not heard. It is merely based on the grammatical convention of *sthānivadbhāva*. Now, if we accept the maxim *yena nāvyavadhānaṃ tena vyavahite 'pi vacanaprāmāṇyāt* 'by which phoneme (or phonemes) there is an unavoidable separation (in the sequence of phonemes required for a grammatical operation, then the grammatical operation still takes place) never mind the intervention, on the authority of the rule (stated).' See *Mbh*. III, p. 324, line 11, and *AP* X, p. 182. Thus P. 7.3.44 would become applicable. The result would be the undesired form **rathikaṭyā*. According to the *KV*, here the *i*-substitution does not take place because the intervention by more than one phoneme is based on hearing, and not on a grammatical convention, namely, *sthānivadbhāva*.

11. To point out the significance of the word *asupaḥ*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *bahuparivrājikā mathurā*, derived in the sense of *bahavaḥ parivrajakā asyāṃ mathurāyām* '(there are) many wandering monks here in Mathurā.' The *KV* here assumes that *supaḥ* means *subantāt* 'after a word ending in a case suffix' (*PN*, *pbh*. 23), and that the negation expressed by *a* is of the *prasajyapratiṣedha* type. That is to say, the *i*-substitution is prohibited when *āP* comes after a word ending in a case suffix. If the negation had been of the *paryudāsa* type, *asupaḥ* would have meant '(when *āP* comes) after (a linguistic element) other than ending in *sUP*.' In (*bahu* + *sU*) + *parivrājaka* + *sU*) both constituents are *subanta* individually, but the cp. as a whole is not *subanta*. This being so, the *i*-substitution would be allowed, because *āP* comes after a non-*subanta* form. This is not desired. Therefore the *paryudāsa* interpretation is rejected.

The *Nyāsa* follows the *KV* in saying that *sUP* in *asupaḥ* is to be taken in the sense of *subanta*. In fact, for the interpretation of the counterexample it makes no difference whether we take *sUP* in the sense of a case ending pure and simple, or in that of a word ending in *sUP*. The main thing is that *āP* should not come after a case ending, whether after the cp. as a whole, or after a cp. constituent like *parivrājaka*. This is what the words *āp supaḥ paro na* in the beginning of the *KV* comment refer to.

The derivation of the *bv*. cp. *bahuparivrājakā* is as follows:

(1) {(((*bahu* + *Jas*) + (*parivrājaka* + *Jas*))$^{ap.}$ + *ṬāP*))) + *sU*	P. 2.2.24; 4.1.4;
(2) (((*bahu* + °) + (*parivrājaka* + °))$^{ap.}$ + *ā*))) + s	P. 2.4.71
(3) (*bahuparivrājakā*) + *s*	P. 6.1.101
(4) (*bahuparivrājakā*) + °	P. 6.1.68.
bahiparivrājakā.	

From the *prakriyā* it is clear that *ṬāP* comes immediately after the internal case ending *Jas*. This is what counts for the interpretation of *asupaḥ*. *Ittva* is prohibited, if *āP* is added after a cp. Therefore we do not derive the form *bahuparivrājikā*. We note that in stage (2) P. 1.1.63 does not prohibit the application of P. 1.1.62. The reason is that *ṬāP* is not itself part of the *aṅga*.

12. The *KV*, following Patañjali (*Mbh*. III, p. 323, lines 18-21), notes that we cannot interpret *asupaḥ* as a *bv*. cp. in the sense of 'after (a linguistic element) in which *sUP* is not found.' The example, borrowed from Patañjali, is *bahucarmikā* 'a place where many skins are found.'. The difficulty is that in this interpretation

asupaḥ would prohibit *ittva* because here *ṬāP* does occur after an element which contains a *sUP* ending.

The *prakriyā* of *bahucarmikā* is as follows:

(1)	((((*bahu* + *Jas*) + (*carman* + *Jas*))$^{ap.}$ + *kaP*))) + *ṬāP*)))) + *sU*	P. 2.2.24; 5.4.154
(2)	((((*bahu* + °) + (*carman* + °))$^{ap.}$ + *ka*))) + *ā*)))) + *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	(((*bahucarma*° + *ka*)) + *ā*))) + *s*	P. 8.1.8
(4)	(*bahucarmika* + *ā*) + *s*	P. 7.3.44
(5)	*bahucarmikā* + *s*	P. 6.1.101
(6)	*bahucarmikā* + °	P. 6.1.68
	bahucarmikā.	

In stage (1) we see a cp. form which contains case endings. Therefore, with reference to *āP* this unit cannot be termed *asup* in the sense of *asubvat*. The consequence would be that we cannot apply P. 7.3.44. Thus we would derive the undesired form **bahucarmakā*.

13. Attention in the *KV* shifts to *Vt*. IV on P. 7.3.44. The *Vt*. says that inclusion should be made of *māmaka* 'mine' and *naraka* (sense uncertain), because here the *k* does not belong to a suffix. But in these forms the application of P. 7.3.44 for *ittva* is still desired

The (traditional) derivation of *māmikā* 'a woman who is mine' is as follows:

(1)	(((*asmad* + *Ṅas*) + *aṆ*)) + *ṬāP*))) + *sU*	P. 4.1.82; 4.3.120; 4.1.4;
(2)	(((*asmad* + °) + *a*)) + *ā*))) + *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	(((*mamaka* + *a*)) + *ā*))) + *s*	P. 4.3.3
(4)	(((*mamak*° + *a*)) + *ā*))) + *s*	P. 6.4.148
(5)	(((*māmaka* + *ā*))) + *s*	P. 7.2.117
(6)	((*māmika* + *ā*)) + *s*	*Vt*. IV on P. 7.3.44
(7)	*māmikā* + °	P. 6.1.68
	māmikā.	

According to the *Nyāsa*, the derivation of *narikā* 'a woman who calls men' (?) in what looks like popular etymology is as follows:

A. (1)	*kai-*	*Dhp*. 1.964
(2)	*kā*	P. 6.1.45

B. (1)	((((*nara* + *Śas*) + *kā*)) + *Ka*))) + *ṬāP*))) + *sU*	P. 2.2.19; 3.2.3; 4.1.4
(2)	((((*nara* + °) + *kā*)) + *a*))) + *ā*))) + *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	(((*narak°* + *a*))) + *ā*))) + *s*	P. 6.4.64
(4)	*narikā* + *s*	*Vt*. IV on P. 7.3.44; P. 6.1.101
(5)	*narikā* + °	P. 6.1.68
	narikā.	

14. The *KV* finally offers its own version of *Vt*. V on P. 7.3.44. It says that in the domain of a prohibition of suffixes inclusion is to be made of *tyaK* and *tyaP*. The two suffixes are mentioned in P. 4.2.104 and 98 respectively. The *KV* refers to P. 7.3.46, and says that the option for prohibition by this rule should not apply, namely, in the case of *tyaK* and *tyaP*. P. 7.3.46 says that in the usage of the northerners the short vowel *a* which is substituted for *ā* is not to be replaced by *i*, when the *a* is preceded by *y* or *k*. The mention of *udīcām* in P. 7.3.46 is traditionally regarded as equivalent to an option. Thus, what the *Vt*. amounts to is that the optional prohibition by P. 7.3.46 should be an obligatory prescription in the case of *tyaK* and *tyaP* derivations. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *dāksiṇātyikā* 'a woman hailing from the South' (borrowed from Patañjali) and *ihatyikā* 'a woman hailing from here.'

The (traditional) *prakriyā* of *dākṣiṇātyikā* is as follows:

A. (1)	(*dakṣiṇa* + *Ṅi*) + *āC*	P. 5.3.36
(2)	(*dakṣiṇa* + °) + *ā*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*dakṣiṇ°* + *a*	P. 6.4.148
	dakṣiṇā	

B. (1)	((*dakṣiṇā* + *tyaK*) + *ṬāP*)) + *sU*	P. 4.2.98; 4.1.4
(2)	(*dākṣiṇātya* + *ā*)) + *s*	P. 7.2.117
(3)	*dākṣiṇātyā* + *s*	P. 6.1.101
	dākṣiṇātyā + °	P. 6.1.68
	dākṣiṇātyā.	

C. (1)	((*dākṣiṇātyā* + *ka*) + *ṬāP*)) + *sU*	P. 5.3.73; 4.1.4
(2)	(*dākṣiṇātyika* + *ā*) + *s*	*Vt*. V on P. 7.3.44
(3)	*dākṣiṇātyikā* + *s*	P. 6.1.101
(4)	*dākṣiṇātyikā* + °	P. 6.1.68
	dākṣiṇātyikā.	

15. We have five *Vts* on the rule. In his introductory *bhāṣya* to *Vt*. I Patañjali discuses three questions: (1) Whether °*stha* is required in *pratyayastha*, (2) whether *ka* in *kāt* stands for the single phoneme *k*, or for *ka* as a combination or a whole (*saṃghāta*), and (3) whether *asupaḥ* is to be taken as a *bv*. cp. or not. The points (1) and (2) are interconnected. If we adopt the *saṃghāta*-view, °*stha* is required. Without °*stha* P. 7.3.44 will be applicable to *dattaka* (a proper name, fem. *dattikā)*, but not in *kārikā* and *hārikā*, where *ka* is not a suffix by itself, but part of the larger suffix *aka*. To include this *ka* as part of the larger suffix, °*stha* is required. It tells us that *ka* occurring in *aka* comes under P. 7.3.44. On the other hand, if we adopt the *varṇa*-view, that is, if we consider that *ka* stands for the single phoneme *k*, we can do without °*stha*, and manage by *pratyayāt kāt*. The point is that in the A. *k* has been nowhere prescribed as a suffix. So, by using our common sense we will understand that *pratyayāt kāt* means *pratyayasthāt kāt*, because otherwise P. 7.3.44 would have no examples. See under 5, above.

As regards question (3), Patañjali argues that, if *asup* is taken to mean *asupvat* '(an *aṅga*) not containing *sUP*,' then we have a difficulty in justifying *bahucarmikā*. See under 12, above.

Vts I - III form a group in which the questions dealt with under 10, above, are discussed. The *Vts* are all three of them (*iti*) *ced Vts*. *Vt*. I says that in the domain of *ittva*, if *ka* (in *kāt*) is taken to stand for *k* + *a* as a combination or a whole (*saṃghāta*), then P. 7.3.44 would have no chance of application in *etikās*. See under 3, above. In *etikās* we have no *k* + *a* as one single whole, but a sequence of *k* belonging to the suffix *akAC* and *a* of the *ṭi*-portion of *etad*.

Vt. II says that, if *k* (in *kāt*) is taken to stand for the single phoneme (*varṇa*) *k*, we cannot establish (the examples for P. 7.3.44), because there is something which comes in between. The examples quoted by Patañjali are *kārikā* and *hārikā*. See under 10, above.

Vt. III says that, if we still apply P. 7.3.44 on the strength of the fact that it has been stated, that is, because otherwise it would be redundant, there would be over-application of the rule in *rathakaṭyā*, etc. Patañjali explains that the *rathakaṭyā-gaṇa* also contains the form *gargakāmyā* 'the wish of the Gargas.' See under 10, above.

Vt. IV says that inclusion should be made if *māmaka* and *naraka*, because here the *k* is not part of a suffix. See under 13, above.

Vt. V says that inclusion should be made of the suffixes *tyaK* and *tyaP*, because here *ittva* is (only optionally) prohibited by P. 7.3.46. The examples provided by Patañjali are *dākṣiṇātyikā* and *amātyikā* 'a woman minister' (?). In the latter example *tyaP* is added to the *avyaya amā* by P. 4.2.104. See under 14, above.

7.3.45 NA YĀSAYOḤ '(short *i* does) not (come) in place of (short *a* which comes before *k* of a suffix belonging to the pronominal base *aṅgas*) *yā* "(she/that) which" (fem.) or *sā* "she/that" (fem.), (if the fem. suffix *āP* follows immediately, provided that *āP* does not come after a case ending)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting the substitution of *i* for *a* on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *yāsayoḥ* (*aṅgayoḥ pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasya ataḥ āpi asupaḥ*). *Yāsayoḥ* is the du. gen. of the *itaretarayogadvanda* stem *yā* + *sā* in which *yā* is the fem. relative pronominal stem, and *sā* the fem. demonstrative pronominal stem. The du. nom./acc. form is *yāse* by P. 7.1.18 and P. 6.1.87. *Yāsayoḥ* is a *śeṣaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *kāt*. *Aṅgayoḥ* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.1.4. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *yāsayoḥ*. The rest of the *uddeśya* is continued from P. 7.3.44, including *asupaḥ*, which is continued redundantly. It is required again in P. 7.3.47. The *vidheya* is *na* (*it*) where *it* is continued from P. 7.3.44.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *yakā* '(that) whichever' (fem.) and *sakā* 'that whichever' (fem.). For the indefinite value of the added *ka* see Whitney, § 511. According to Pāṇini, both forms are *akAC* formations by P. 5.3.71.

The *prakriyā* of *yakā* is as follows:

(1)	*y-akAC-ad*		+ *sU*	P. 5.3.71; 4.1.2
(2)	*yakaa*		+ *s*	P. 7.2.102
(3)	*yaka*		+ *s*	P. 6.1.97
(4)	*yaka*	+ *ṬāP*	+ *s*	P. 4.1.4
(5)	*yakā*		+ *s*	P. 6.1.101
(6)	*yakā*		+ °	P. 6.1.68
	yakā.			

The *i*-substitution applicable by P. 7.3.44 in stage (4) is prohibited by P. 7.3.45. Similarly for *sakā*. The *s* is substituted for *t* of the pronominal stem *tad* by P. 7.2.106.

4. The *KV* notes that the mention of the forms *yā* and *sā* is *atantra* 'not specifically intended.' That is to say, these forms are not binding by the fact that they have been stated as sg. nom. forms. They simply refer to any relative or demonstrative pronominal form containing *k*. Thus P. 7.3.45 also applies to expressions like *yakāṃ yakām adhīmahe* 'whatever we study' and *takāṃ takāṃ pacāmahe* 'we cook anything whatever.' Here *yakām* and *takām* are sg. acc. forms. The examples are partly or wholly borrowed from Patañjali.

5. The *KV* then quotes the *Vts* on the rule, with the examples provided by Patañjali. The order of the *Vts* in the *KV* matches that of the *Mbh*.

6. We have ten *Vts* on the rule. *Vt.* I says that in the prohibition by P. 7.3.45 inclusion should be made of *tyakaN*. Reference is to the *taddhita* suffix prescribed by P. 5.2.34. after *upa* or *adhi* in the sense of nearness or elevation respectively. The examples provided by Patañjali are *upatyakā* 'area near a mountain' and *adhityakā* 'table land.' At the stage ((*upa* + *tyaka*) + *ṬāP*)) + *sU*. P. 7.3.44 becomes applicable to derive the undesired form **upatyikā*. That is prevented by *Vt.* I.

Vt. II says that inclusion should be made of *pāvaka*, etc. in the Vedic language. The examples provided by Patañjali are *hiraṇyavarṇāḥ śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ* 'gold-coloured, cleansing fires' (Ath. V. 1.33.1) and *ṛkṣakā alomakāḥ* 'the bald ones, the hairless ones' (?). A note in the Kielhorn ed. (*Mbh*. III, p. 325) quotes the *Taitt. Saṃh.* 2.6.5.1, *ṛkṣā vā eṣālomakā* 'bald indeed is that (altar), hairless.' In the *KV* the example reads *yāsu alomakāḥ* 'in which the hairless ones.' *Pāvikā* and *alomikā* are non-Vedic forms, attested in the *bhāṣā*.

Vt. III says that inclusion should be made when the sense of blessing is conveyed. Reference is to P. 3.1.50, which is repeated identically by *Vt.* III. The examples provided by Patañjali are *jīvakā*, derived in the sense of *jīvatāt* 'may she live (long)' and *nandakā*, derived in the sense of *nandatāt* 'may she rejoice.' The suffix *vuN* is added by P. 3.1.150 in the sense of *āśis*. *TātAṄ* optionally replaces the *lOṬ* ending *tu* by P. 7.1.35. The *KV* adds the example *bhavakā*, derived in the sense of *bhavatāt* 'may she exist.' The corresponding forms in °*ikā* are not desired.

Vt. IV says that inclusion should also be made when *uttarapadalopa* 'deletion of the final member (of a cp.)' is applied. For *uttarapadalopasamāsa* see *BDA*, Introduction, p. xxii-xxiii. The examples provided by Patañjali are *devakā* for *devadattikā* and *yajñaka* for *yajñadattika*, where *ittva* is not applied by P. 7.3.44. In *devadattikā* the suffix *kaN* is added to *devadatta* by P. 5.3.76, and *ṬāP* by P. 4.1.4.

Then P. 7.3.44 is applied. The final member *datta* is optionally deleted by *Vt*. I on P. 5.1.83.

Vt. V says that inclusion should be made of *kṣipakā* 'a woman archer,' etc. The word is derived from *kṣip-* (*Dhp*. 4.10) by adding the suffix *Ka* (P. 3.1.135) and the *taddhita* suffix *ka* (P. 5.3.70). *ṬāP* is added by P. 4.1.4. Patañjali explains that the *kṣipakādi-gaṇa* contains three items, *kṣipakā, dhruvakā* 'name of a woman' and *dhuvakā* 'a woman who has an abortion.'

Vt. VI says that inclusion should be made of *tārakā* in the senser of 'a heavenly body'. The word is derived from *tṛ-* (*Dhp*. 1.1018). *ṆvuL* is added by P. 3.1.133, and again *ṬāP*. The counterexample is *tārikā*, which means *dāsī* 'a female slave.'

Vt. VII says that inclusion should be made of *varṇakā* in the sense of 'a woven cloth'. The counterexample is *varṇikā*, which means *bhāgurī*, the name of a work in the *lokāyata* philosophical tradition.

Vt. VIII says that inclusion should be made of *vartakā* in the sense of 'a bird' in the usage of the easterners. The form is derived from *vṛt-* (*Dhp*. 1.795) with the suffix *ṆvuL* (P. 3.1.133). *Guṇa* is by P. 7.3.86. The counterexample is *vartikā*, which means *bhāgurī*. See under *Vt*. VII. Moreover, *vartikā* is the counterexample for the eastern usage *vartakā*. According to the *Nyāsa*, *vartikā* means a female student.

Vt. IX says that inclusion should be made of *aṣṭakā* in the sense of a ceremony in honour of the ancestors on the eighth day after full moon. *Aṣṭakā* is traditionally derived from *aśA-* (*Dhp*. 9.51) with the *uṇādi* suffix *takaN* (*SK*, *uṇādiprakaraṇa*, No. 436). The counterexample is *aṣṭikā*, which means *khārī* 'a measure of grain.' Here the suffix used is *kaN* (P. 5.1.22) after the numeral stem *aṣṭan*. *ṬāP* is added. P. 7.3.44 is applied and the *n* of *astan* is deleted by P. 8.2.7.

Vt. X says that inclusion should be made for optional *ittva* in *sūtakā* 'a woman who has recently given birth,' *putrakā* 'daughter' and *vṛndarakā* 'an eminent woman.' Thus the alternative °*ikā* forms are also allowed. However, according to P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, Poona 1930, p. 5, *putrikā* has the specialised sense of a daughter appointed to raise male issue which is to be adopted by a sonless father. According to the *Nyāsa*, the three words mentioned come as a sub-*gaṇa* within the *pṛṣodarādi-gaṇa* (P. 6.2.109), which is an *ākṛtigaṇa*. We note that, according to *Vt*. III on P. 5.2.122, *vṛndāraka* is an *ārakaN*-derivation in the sense of *matUP*.

7.3.46 UDĪCĀM ĀTAḤ STHĀNE YAKAPŪRVĀYĀḤ 'in the usage of the easterners (short *i* does not come in place of short *a*) preceded by *y* or *k* (of a suffix belonging to a nominal base *aṅga*, if the fem. suffix *āP* follows immediately, provided that *āP* does not come after a case ending)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, dealing with the usage of the easterners and prohibiting the substitution of *i* on the conditions stated. The sequence concerned is *aṅga* + suffix containing *y* or *k* + *āP*.

2. The *uddeśya* is *udīcām* (*aṅgasya pratyayasthāyāḥ yakapūrvāyāḥ ātaḥ sthāne ataḥ āpi asupaḥ*). *Udīcām* refers to a regional variation of spoken Sanskrit. See *FANU*, p. 130, 137-138. According to the *KV*, it refers to an opinion of *ācāryas* hailing from the north. This being so, the rule concerned is traditionally regarded as optional. Since we regard the mention of *udīcām* as referring to a regional variation of Sanskrit, the idea of option is rejected. The rule is valid precisely for that regional usage. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Pratyayasthāyāḥ* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma* from P. 7.3.44. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *yakapūrvāyāḥ ātaḥ*. Here *yakapūrvāyāḥ* incidentally discontinues *kāt pūrvasya* from P. 7.3.44 which is continued again in P. 7.3.47-49. As indicated by *sthāne*, *ātaḥ* is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. *Ataḥ āpi* is continued from P. 7.3.44. *Asupaḥ* is continued redundantly. See P. 7.3.45, under 2. The *vidheya* is (*na it*) where *na* is continued from P. 7.3.45, and *it* from P. 7.3.44. We deviate from tradition by continuing *na*. See *FANU*, p. 274, convention 40. Thus what the rule says is that, outside the usage of the northerners, *ittva* is applied.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For a preceding *y*: *ibhyakā* 'a certain woman worthy of an elephant' and *kṣattriyakā* 'a woman *kṣattriya*'

(b) For a preceding *k*: *caṭakakā* 'a female sparrow' and *mūṣakakā* 'a female rat'

To show the supposed optionality of the rule, the *KV* also quotes the corresponding °*ikā* forms in which *ittva* by P. 7.3.44 is applied. In our view, these forms belong to the usage of the easterners.

The derivation of *ibhyakā* is as follows:

(1) *ibha* + *yaT* P. 5.1.66

(2) *ibh°* + *ya*		P. 6.4.148
(3) *ibhya* + *ṬāP*		P. 4.1.4
(4) *ibhyā*		P. 6.1.101
(5) *ibhyā*	+ *ka*	P. 5.3.73
(6) *ibhya*	+ *ka*	P. 7.3.13
(7) *ibhyaka*	+ *ṬāP*	P. 4.1.4
ibhyakā		P. 6.1.101
ibhyakā.		

We note that in the derivation *ṬāP* is applied twice. Similarly for the other examples. As explained under 2, above, *ittva* is prohibited by P. 7.3.46.

4. To point out the significance of the word *ātaḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *sāṃkāśyikā*, derived in the sense of 'a woman originating from Sāṃkāśya.' The *Nyāsa* explains that *sāṃkāśyikā* is a *vuÑ*-derivation by P. 4.2.121. The final *a* of *sāṃkāśya* before *aka* is deleted by P. 6.4.148. In this form there is no *a* of a suffix resulting from the shortening of *ā*. Therefore the prohibition of *ittva* by P. 7.3.46 does not apply. Consequently, *ittva* is applied by P. 7.3.44.

5. Why does the rule say *ātaḥ sthāne*? Couldn't we have the meaning of a technical gen. from *ātaḥ* by P. 1.1.49? The *KV* says that, although there is *anuvāda* 'repetition, reference to a topic already known,' (namely, *sthāne* by P. 1.1.49), the mention of the word *sthāne* in the present rule serves to understand connection with an item which has come in place of another item. The substitution traditionally allowed by P. 7.3.46 applies to that *ataḥ* which is specified by *ātaḥ sthāne*. In *ātaḥ sthāne ataḥ* we do not deal with one substitution, but with two substitutions, first the substitution of short *a* for long *ā*, secondly, the substitution of short *i* for that short *a*. Here the first substitution is by P. 7.4.13. the second by P. 7.3.46.

Now the question is of the application of P. 1.1.49, which is a *pbh*. According to *PN*, *pbh*. 93 (10), for the interpretation of the gen. in the sense of *sthāne* the *pbh*. P. 1.1.49 applies only when substitution is directly prescribed by a rule. In other words, P. 1.1.49 applies wherever there is a direct relation between the *sthānin*, which is part of the *uddeśya*, and the *ādeśa*, which is *vihita* 'prescribed.' Since P. 7.3.46 (in the traditional interpretation) directly prescribes optional *ittva* of short *a*, P. 1.1.49 becomes applicable to *ataḥ*. So there is no need to mention *sthāne* after *ātaḥ*. But because P. 7.3.46 does not prescribe the substitution of short *a* for long *ā*, P. 1.1.49 does not become applicable to *ātaḥ*. To have the sense of *sthāne* for *ātaḥ*, the mention of the word *sthāne* is necessary. See *PN*, Pt. II, p. 440, n. 2.

6. To point out the significance of the word *yakapūrvāyāḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *aśvikā* 'mare.' This is a *ka*-derivation by P. 5.3.70, from *aśvā*. The *ā* here is shortened by P. 7.4.13. Then P. 7.3.44 is applied, because the resulting short *a* is not preceded by *y* or *k*. That is why optional *ittva* by P. 7.3.46 (in the traditional interpretation) is not allowed.

The *KV* further points out that *yakapūrvāyāḥ* is a fem. gender word. It serves to indicate that *ātaḥ* (in P. 7.3.46) refers to a fem. suffix, namely, *ṬāP*. Therefore, in *śubhaṃyikā* 'a female who moves in an auspicious way,' derived from *śubhaṃyā*, itself derived in the sense of *śubhaṃ yāti* 'she goes in an auspicious way,' the *ā* of *yā* not replaced by *i* optionally by P. 7.3.46 (in its traditional interpretation). The point is that here the *ā* of a verbal base is replaced by short *a* (by P. 7.4.13), and not the *ā* of the suffix *ṬāP*. Therefore P. 7.3.44, which is a *nitya* rule, is applied. Similarly for *bhadraṃyikā* 'a female who moves in an auspicious way.' Both examples have been borrowed from Patañjali.

7. Finally, the *KV* quotes *Vt*. I on the rule, for which see below.

8. We have one *Vt*. on the rule. In his introductory *bhāṣya* Patañjali discusses the question of the fem. gender of *yakapūrvāyāḥ*. See under 6, above.

Vt. I says that with regard to *yakapūrva* a prohibition (of the optional *ittva* by P. 7.3.46) should be stated for *y* or *k* occurring in final position of a verbal base. The examples (all of them *bv*. cps) provided by Patañjali are *sunayikā*, 'a woman of good conduct,' *aśokikā* 'a woman whose grieving is not found' and *apākikā* 'a woman whose cooking is not found.' Here *sunāyikā* is derived from *nī* + *aC* (P. 3.3.56). Cp. formation is by P. 2.2.24. *Su* + *naya* gives us *sunaya*. The addition of *ṬāP* results in *sunayā* (P. 6.1.101). The *taddhita* suffix *ka* is added by P. 5.3.70. That gives us *sunayāka*. Shortening is applied by P. 7.4.13. The result is *sunayaka*. Since optional *ittva* is prohibited by *Vt*. I on P. 7.3.46, we apply *nitya ittva* by P. 7.3.44. The result is *sunayikā*.

In addition to *sunayikā* the *KV* provides the example *suśayikā* 'a woman who sleeps well.' Instead of *aśokikā* and *apākikā* the *KV* mentions *suśokikā* and *supākikā*. The *Nyāsa* explains that these two examples are *bhāve* GHaÑ-derivations by P. 3.3.18 from *ṁuc*- and *pac*-. The *c* → *k* substitution is by P. 7.3.52. *Bv*. cp. formation is by P. 2.2.24. The suffix *kaP* is added by P. 5.4.154. The sense conveyed by the two forms is 'a woman whose grieving is good' and 'a woman whose cooking is good.'

7.3.47 BHASTRĀ-EṢĀ-AJĀ-JÑĀ-DVĀ-SVĀ NAÑPŪRVĀṆĀM API '(short *i* does not come in place of short *a* which has come in place of long *ā* before *k* belonging to a suffix of the nominal base *aṅgas*) *bhastrā* "a leather bag," *eṣā* "that one" (fem.), *ajā* "she-goat," *jña* "one who knows" (fem.), *dvā* "two" and *svā* "oneself" (fem.), even when preceded by *naÑ*, (if *āP* follows immediately, provided that *āP* does not come after a case ending)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting the substitution of short *i* for short *a* in connection with six specified nominal forms, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *bhastrā...svāḥ* (*ity aṅgānāṃ pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasya ātaḥ sthāne ataḥ āpi*) *nañpurvāṇām api*. *Bhastrā...svā* is a pl. nom. *dvandva* cp. of *ābanta* stems in which *dvā* is included. It is a *sautra* form. The grammatically correct *dvandva* form should have ended in the pl. gen. case ending. The *SK*, No. 466, on the present rule, says that the cp. is a *luptaṣaṣṭhikaṃ padam* 'a word in which the gen. case ending has been dropped.' *Aṅgānām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasya* is continued from P. 7.3.44. *Yakapūrvāyāḥ* from P. 7.3.46 is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*, because none of the bases mentioned in P. 7.3.47 contains *y* or *k*. *Ataḥ āpi asupaḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.44. *Ātaḥ sthāne* is continued from P. 7.3.46. A *nañsamāsa* is either a *tp*. cp. formation by P. 2.2.6, or a *bv*. cp. formation by *Vt*. XV on P. 2.2.24. The *vidheya* is (*na it*) where *na* is continued from P. 7.3.45, and *it* from P. 7.3.44.

How to justify *dvā*? According to P. 7.2.102, we cannot have the stem *dva* without a following case ending. *ṬāP* is not a case ending. We assume that *dvā* has been mentioned in the rule for the purpose of uniform treatment. of *ābanta* forms.

The *KV* continues *udīcām* from P. 7.3.46, and thus regards the prohibition stated by P. 7.3.47 as optional. We have discontinued *udīcām* in the present rule, because the particle *ca* is lacking in P. 7.3.47. See *FANU*, p. 274, convention 50. Consequently, we regard the °*ika* forms mentioned by the *KV* with *ittva* by P. 7.3.44 as optional forms as grammatical illusions.

Nañpurvāṇām api looks like an addition to the rule. But it is accepted by tradition from Kātyāyana onwards as part of the rule. Already *Vt*. II regards *nañpurvāṇām api* as redundant. See also *SK*, No. 466, on P. 7.3.44, *nañpurvāṇām apīti spaṣṭārtham* 'the expression *nañpurvāṇām api* is for clarity's sake (only).' For the opinion of the *KV* see below.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *bhastrā*: *bhastrakā/bhastrikā* and *abhastrakā/abhastrikā*. The *taddhita* suffix *ka* may be added by P. 5.3.85 in the sense of *alpa* 'small.' Shortening of the final *ā* of *bhastrā* is by P. 7.4.13. The cp. foıms may mean either 'other than a small leather bag' (*tp.*) or 'a woman not having a small leather bag ' (*bv.*).

(b) For *eṣā*: *eṣakā/esikā* 'that one' (fem.). These are *akAC* derivations from *etad* by P. 5.3.71. From *etakad* + *sU* we derive *etakaa* + *s* by P. 7.2.102. The next step is *esakaa* + *s* by P. 7.2.106. Then apply P. 6.1.97. That gives us *esaka* + *s*. In this stage fem. suffix *ṬāP* is added by P. 4.1.4. Here after the application of P. 6.1.101 and P. 6.1.68 we derive *esakā*. Finally, the application of P. 8.3.59 results in *eṣakā*. Compare the derivation of *etikās* under P. 7.3.44 (3). We note that in the case of *eṣakā* derived as an *akAC* formation the condition *ātaḥ sthāne ataḥ* in P. 7.3.47 cannot be met, because shortening by P. 7.3.14 has not taken place. It is, however, required, if *eṣakā* is derived as a *ka*-derivation by P. 5.3.85.

(c) For *ajā*: *ajakā/ajikā* and *anajakā/anajikā*. The cp. forms may mean either 'other than a little she-goat' (*tp.*) or 'a woman not having a little she-goat' (*bv.*).

(d) For *jña*: *jñaka/jñika* and *ajñaka/ajñika*. The suffix *Ka* is added to the verbal base *jña-* (*Dhp*. 9.36) by P. 3.1.135 in the sense of agent. The *ā* of *jña* is deleted by P. 6.4.64. That gives us *jña*. Thereafter we add *ka*. We assume that here *ka* has no definable sense of its own. At the stage *jña* + *ka* + *TaP* P. 6.1.101 is applied, which gives us *jñakā* 'one who knows' (fem.).The traditionally assumed optional form is *jñikā*. The cp. forms may mean either 'other than one who knows' (fem.) (*tp.*), or 'a woman not having one who knows' (*bv.*).

(e) For *dvā*: *dvake/dvike*. These are .fem. du. forms meaning 'the two of them' (fem.)

The *prakriyā* of *dvake* is as follows:

A. (1) *dvi*	(*dvi* is included in the sub-*gaṇa tyadādayaḥ* of *sarvādayaḥ*, P. 1.1.27)
(2) *dv-ak-i* *dvaki*.	P. 5.3.71
B. (1) *dvaki* + *au*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *dvaka* + *au*	P. 7.2.102
(3) *dvaka* + *ṬāP* + *au*	P. 4.1.4
(4) *dvakā* + *au*	P. 6.1.101

(5)	*dvakā* + *ŚĪ*	P. 7.1.18
(6)	*dvake*	P. 6.1.87
	dvake.	

(f) For *svā*: *svakā/svikā* and *asvakā/asvikā*. The cp. forms may mean either 'other than herself' (*tp.*), or 'a woman not having property.' It is assumed that the suffix *ka* has no specifically definable meaning here.

4. The *KV* now raises the question why no examples of *nañsamāsa* are quoted for *eṣā* and *dvā*. The answer is that, if we form *nañsamasa* of these two forms. a pronoun and a numeral, it will be *nañsamasa* with *akAC* formations. Regarding these formations the *KV* says, whether we first form the *nañsamasa* and insert *akAC* afterwards, or the other way round, and after P. 7.2.106 has been applied, in both ways *ṬāP* comes directly after a *subanta* word because of the internal case ending. Therefore *ittva* is prohibited by P. 7.3.44, *asupaḥ*. Conclusion: for the *akAC* formations we cannot show *aneṣikā* or *advike* as *nañsamasa* examples for P. 7.3.47.

For the derivation of the form *eṣakā* see under 3 (b), above. The *prakriyā* of *aneṣakā* 'a woman other than that one' is as follows:

(1)	((*naÑ* + *sU*) + (*etakad* + *sU*))		+ *sU*	P. 2.2.6; 5.3.71; 4.1.2
(2)	((*na* + °) + (*etakad* + °))		+ *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*anetakad*		+ *s*	P. 6.3.73-74
(4)	*anetakaa*		+ *s*	P. 7.2.102
(5)	*anetaka*		+ *s*	P. 6.1.97
(6)	*anetaka*	+ *ṬāP*	+ *s*	P. 4.1.4
(7)	*anetakā*		+ *s*	P. 6.1.101
(8)	*anesakā*		+ *s*	P. 7.2.106
(9)	*anesakā*		+ °	P. 6.1.68
(10)	*aneṣakā* .			P. 8.3.59
	aneṣakā.			

The *prakriyā* of the fem. du. form *advake* 'other than the two' is as follows:

(1)	((*naÑ* + *sU*) + (*dvaki* + *au*))		+ *au*	P. 2.2.6; 5.3.71; 4.1.2
(2)	((*na* + °) + (*dvaki* + °))		+ *au*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*advaki*		+ *au*	P. 6.3.73
(4)	*advaka*		+ *au*	P. 7.2.102
(5)	(*advaka*	+ *ṬāP*)	+ *au*	P. 4.1.4
(6)	*advakā*		+ *au*	P. 6.1.101
(5)	*advakā*		+ *ŚĪ*	P. 7.1.18

(6) *advake* P. 6.1.87
advake.

In both cases one might argue that in stage (2) the internal cp. case endings are *luk*-deleted, and that, therefore, by P. 1.1.63, as far as grammatical operations are concerned, there are no case endings any more. This being so, *ṬāP* in the stages (6) and (5) does not come after a case ending. Consequently, the prohibition of *ittva* by P. 7.3.44 is not applicable, and we would derive the undesired forms **aneṣikā* and **advike*. However, the appeal to P. 1.1.63 is wrong, because this rule deals with operations applicable to an *aṅga*. *ṬāP* is added after a cp. *aṅga*, but is not part of that *aṅga*. Therefore, as far as *ṬāP* is concerned, the internal case endings are still there, by P. 1.1.62. Since these case endings are still there, *ṬāP* does come after a case ending. Therefore P. 7.3.44, *asupaḥ*, prohibits *ittva*.

The *prakriyās* stated above are of *ñantatpuruṣa* cps The only difference with the same forms derived as *nañbahuvrihi* cps lies in the rule applied for cp. formation. In the case of *nañbahuvrihi* cps that is *Vt*. XV on P. 2.2.24.

5. Then what about *svā*? *Sva* is also a pronominal form included.in the *sarvādigaṇa* (P. 1.1.27). Therefore, if P. 7.3.47 is not applied in the case of *eṣā* and *dvā*, when forming part of a *nañsamasa*, it should not apply in the case of *sva* either. But for *sva nañsamasa* forms ending in °*ika* are quoted as examples. In answer the *KV* refers to P. 1.1.35. This rule says that *sva* is called *sarvanāman* 'pronoun', except when it means *jñati* 'a kinsman' or *dhana* 'wealth.' Since it it not a *sarvanāman* in the sense of 'wealth, property,' we cannot insert *akAC* by P. 5.3.71. Instead, we can add *ka* by P. 5.3.70 in an indefinite sense. This done, we can derive the optional *nañsamasa* forms *asvakā* and *asvikā* by P. 7.3.47 in its traditional interpretation.

6. Following Patañjali in his *bhāṣya* on the present rule, the *KV* asks, what is the purpose of mentioning *bhastrā* here? *Bhastrā* is an *abhāṣitapuṃska* word having no corresponding masc. form. Reference is to P. 7.3.48, which deals with *abhāṣitapuṃska* words to which a *taddhita* suffix containing *ka* is added, and which in the traditional interpretation allows optional forms ending in °*ikā*. The answer by the *KV* is that the mention of *bhastrā* in P. 7.3.47 is for the sake of *upasarjana*. The examples are *abhastrakā*, and *abhastrikā*. We start with *abhastrikā*. This is a *bv*. derivation in the sense of *avidyamānā bhastrā yasyāḥ* to which *ka* is added in the sense of *alpa* 'small.' The resulting meaning is 'she who does not have a small leather bag.' The *prakriyā* is as follows:

(1) ((*nañ* + *sU*) + (*bhastrā* + *sU*)) + *sU* *Vt*. XV on P.

			2.2.24
(2)	((*na* + °) + (*bhastrā* + °))	+ *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*abhastrā*	+ *s*	P. 6.3.73
(4)	*abhastra*	+ *s*	P. 1.2.48
(5)	(*abhastra* + *ṬāP*)	+ *s*	P. 4.1.4
(6)	*abhastrā*	+ *s*	P. 6.1.101
(7)	(*abhastrā* + *ka*)	+ *s*	P. 5.3.85
(8)	((*abhastrā* + *ka*) + *ṬāP*))	+ *s*	P. 4.1.4
(9)	((*abhastra* + *ka*) + *ā*))	+ *s*	P. 7.4.13
(9)	*abhastrakā*	+ *s*	P. 6.1.101
(10)	*abhastrikā*	+ *s*	P. 7.3.47
(11)	*abhastrikā*	+ °	P. 6.1.68
	abhastrikā.		

As shown in stage (3), °*bhastrā* is a *bv.* cp. constituent. Therefore it is called *upasarjana*. Consequently, shortening of the final *ā* is applied by P. 1.2.48. In the derivation *ṬāP* is applied twice, first to derive the fem. *bv.* cp. stem *abhastrā*, which is a *bhāṣitapuṃska* word, and, therefore, cannot be covered by P. 7.3.48, and, secondly, to justify the fem. gender of the *ka*-derivation. The statement *upasarjana-hrasvatve kṛte punar bahuvrīhau kṛte* 'after shortening has been applied by P. 1.2.48 (and) after a *bv.* has been formed again' in the text of the Benares and Hyderabad editions is wrong, because there are no two *bv.* formations. The text should be emended to read *upasarjanahrasvatve kṛte bahuvrīhau punas ṭāpi kṛte* 'after shortening by P. 1.2.48 has been applied (and) when *ṬāP* has been applied again in the *bv.* cp.' For the reading *punas ṭāpi* we refer to the *Laghu Shabdendu Shekhar of M.M. Nagesh Bhatt*. Edited by Dr. Bal Shastri. Vāranasivilāsa Prakāśan, Vāranasi. Vikrama Samvat 2048, p. 543.

Then how to derive *abhastrakā*? We derive it, not as a *bv. ka*-derivation, but as a *bv. kaP*-derivation by P. 5.3.154, and thus forego the sense of 'small' in the cp. For the shortening in stage (9) we turn to P. 7.4.15. This rule says that optionally long *ā* is not shortened before *kaP*. Thus we may or may not shorten it. That gives us two forms, *abhastrakā* and *abhastrākā* in the sense of 'a woman who has a leather bag.' See further under P. 7.3.48.

7. Why *api* in *nañpurvāṇām api*? The *KV* explains that *api* serves to include both cps beginning with another word than *naÑ* and single words. P. 7.3.47 is not restricted to *nañpurva* cps only. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *nirbhastrikā/nirbhastrakā* 'a woman who has lost her leather bag' and *bahubhastrikā/bahubhastrakā* 'a woman who has many leather bags.'

8. Finally, the *KV* says that the statement of *nañpurvāṇām* in the rule is an *anuvāda* 're-statement' of a matter already known for the sake of slow-witted learners only. The idea is that *bhastrā*, etc. are *viśeṣaṇas* of the continued word *aṅga*. Therefore we can apply the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72), and interpret *bhastrā*, etc., as forms ending in *bhastrā*, etc. That will take case of *nañpurva* formations also, whether *tp.* cps or *bv.* cps. Conclusion: the separate mention of *nañpurvāṇām api* in P. 7.3.47 is not required.

But doesn't *PN*, *pbh.* 31, say that the *tadantavidhi* is not applicable when the nominal stem is mentioned as such in a rule, and doesn't *PN*, *pbh.* 30, imply that *vyapadeśivadbhāva* 'treatment of a linguistic item as if it had the special designation required (for applying a grammatical operation)' does not hold for a *prātipadika*? The *Nyāsa* says that these doubts should not be raised, because both *pbhs* apply in the domain of rules which prescribes suffixes. That is to say, the two *pbhs* are valid in the *adhyāyas* 3-5 only, but not in the *aṅgādhikāra*. Therefore the *KV* is justified in applying the *tadantavidhi*.

To justify the *KV*, reference can also be made to *PN*, *pbh.* 29. This *pbh.* says that stems mentioned in the *pada-* or *aṅga-adhikāra* stand for both the stem mentioned and for a form ending in that stem. Accordingly, the prohibition of *ittva* in *bhastrā*, etc., by P. 7.3.47 - optional, according to tradition - holds good for *tadanta* forms also. Again, the conclusion is that the mention of *nañpurva* is redundant.

9. We have two *Vts* on the rule. In his *bhāṣya* Patañjali first says that for *eṣā* and *dvā* we have no (*nañpurva*) examples because of the prohibition *asupaḥ*. See under 4, above. Introducing *Vt.* I he raises the question why *bhastrā* has been mentioned in the rule. *Bhastrā* is an *abhāṣitapuṃska* word for which no corresponding masc. form is available. So we can manage by P. 7.3.48, which deals with *abhāṣitapuṃska* words.

Vt. I says that the mention of *bhastrā* is for the sake of *upasarjana*. See under 5. above.

Vt. II says that also the mention of *nañpurva* is redundant. The reason is that we have a statement for *it*(*tva*) for any *uttarapada*. Patañjali renders the statement as *uttarapadamātrasyettvaṃ vaktavyam* '*ittva* is to be stated for any *uttarapada*.' What is meant is any cp. formation in which the *uttarapada* is *bhastrā*, etc., whether *nañsamasa* or not. He provides the examples *nirbhastrakā* and *bahubhastrakā* with the corresponding forms in °*ikā*. Thereby it is shown that P. 7.3.47 does not only apply in the case of a *nañsamasa*, but in the case of other cp. formations also.

7.3.48 ABHĀṢITAPUṂSKĀC CA 'also (short *i* does not come in place of short *a* which has come in place of long *ā* before *k* belonging to a suffix coming) after (a nominal base *aṅga* which is *abhāṣitapuṃska* "not having a corresponding masc. form." (if *āP* follows immediately, provided that *āP* does not come after a case ending)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting the substitution of short *i* for short *a* on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *abhāṣitapuṃskāt* (*aṅgāt pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasya ātaḥ sthāne ataḥ āpi asupaḥ*. *Bhāṣitapuṃska* is a technical term used in P. 6.3.34 for words used in the ntr. or fem. which have a corresponding masc. form. Reference is to adjectival forms. The opposite is *abhāṣitapuṃska*. This is said of a word like *bhastrā* in P. 7.3.47 for which a corresponding masc. form is not available from usage. *Abhāṣitapuṃskāt* discontinues *bhastrā...svāḥ* from P. 7.3.47. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgāt*. The word *aṅgāt* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasya* is continued from P. 7.3.44. *Ātaḥ sthāne* is continued from P. 7.3.46. *Ataḥ āpi asupaḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.44. The phrase *nañpurvāṇām api* from P. 7.3.47 has been discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. Even in P.7.3.47 itself it had been declared redundant. The *KV* on the present rule does not mention it. The *vidheya* is (*na it*), where *na* is continued from P. 7.3.45, and *it* from P. 7.3.44.

The *KV* continues *udīcām* again, from P. 7.3.46, and thus regards the present rule as optional. Consequently, the *KV* offers two sets of examples, one ending in °*āka*, and one ending °*ikā*. See further P. 7.3.47, under 2.

The function of the particle *ca* is to serve as a rule boundary with the previous rule. See *FANU*, p. 36, 232.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* fall into two main groups, with sub-divisions of the second group. The first group (A) consists of a *taddhita ka* derivation (e.g., P. 5.3.85, sense of *alpa* 'small'.) The second group (B) consists of *nañsamāsa* cps. The main sub-division here is of *tp.* cps (B 1) and *bv.* cps (B 2) The (B 1) group consists of *tp.* cps pure and simple, and of *tp. ka* derivations. We label them as (B 1 a) and (B 1 b) respectively. The (B 2) group consists of *bv. ka* derivations and *bv. kaP* derivations (P. 5.4.154). We label them as (B 2 a) and (B 2 b) respectively. The *prakriyā* of (B 1 a) can be simply inferred from the one given for (B 1 b) and will therefore be omitted.

We note that in the case of a *tp. nañsamasa* the question of applying P. 1.2.48 for shortening does not arise, but it arises in the case of a *bv.* cp., because here the cp. constituents are *upasarjana*. A point to be kept in mind is that the vowel eligible for shortening by P. 1.2.48 must come in final position of a *prātipadika*, in our case the cp. nominal base. See *AP* II, P. 1.2.48, under 3.

The corresponding *prakriyās* then are the following:

A. khaṭvakā / khaṭvikā 'a small bed.'

(1)	(*khaṭvā* + *ka*)	+ *sU*	P. 5.3.85
(2)	((*khaṭvā* + *ka*) + *ṬāP*))	+ s	P. 4.1.4
(3)	((*khaṭva* + *ka*) + *ā*))	+ *s*	P. 7.4.13
(4)	*khaṭvakā*	+ *s*	P. 6.1.101
(5)	*khaṭvakā*	+ °	P. 6.1.68
	khaṭvakā.		

Because *khaṭvā* is an *abhāṣitapuṃska* word, the prohibition of *ittva* is traditionally regarded as optional. That gives us *khaṭvikā* too. But since we do not regard P. 7.3.48 as optional, the prohibition of *ittva* by this rule will result in the form *khaṭvakā* only.

(B 1 b) *akhaṭvakā / akhaṭvikā* 'not a small bed'

(1)	((*naÑ* + *sU*) + (*khaṭvā* + *sU*))		+ *sU*	P.2.2.6
(2)	((*na* + °) + (*khaṭvā* + °))		+ *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*akhaṭvā*		+ *s*	P. 6.3.73
(4)	(*akhaṭvā*	+ *ka*	+ *s*	P. 5.3.85
(5)	((*akhaṭvā*	+ *ka*) + *ṬāP*))	+ *s*	P. 4.1.4
(6)	((*akhaṭva*	+ *ka*) + *ā*))	+ *s*	P. 7.4.13
(7)	*akhaṭvakā*		+ *s*	P. 6.1.101
(8)	*akhaṭvakā*		+ °	P. 6.1.68
	akhaṭvakā.			

In stage (6) the *ā* belonging to the *abhāṣitapuṃska* word *khaṭvā* is shortened by P. 7.4.13. According to tradition, optional *ittva* is available by P. 7.3.48. That gives us the form *akhaṭvikā* too. However, since we regard P. 7.3.48 as a *nitya* 'invariably applicable' rule, the prohibition of *ittva* by this rule will result in the form *akhaṭvakā* only.

(B 2 a) *akhaṭvikā* 'a woman not having a small bed'

(1) ((*naÑ* + *sU*) + (*khaṭvā* + *sU*)) + *sU Vt*. XV on P.

			2.2.24
(2) ((*na* + °) + (*khaṭvā* + °))		+ *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3) *akhaṭvā*		+ *s*	P. 6.3.73
(4) *akhaṭva*		+ *s*	P. 1.2.48
(5) (*akhaṭva*	+ *ṬāP*)	+ *s*	P. 4.1.4
(6) *akhaṭvā*		+ *s*	P. 6.1.101
(7) (*akhaṭvā*	+ *ka*)	+ *s*	P. 5.3.85
(8) ((*akhaṭvā*	+ *ka*) + *ṬāP*))	+ *s*	P. 4.1.4
(9) ((*akhaṭva*	+ *ka*) + *ā*))	+ *s*	P. 7.4.13
(10) *akhaṭvakā*		+ *s*	P. 6.1.101
(11) *akhaṭvikā*		+ *s* .	P. 7.3.44
(12) *akhaṭvikā*		+ °	P. 6.1.69
akhaṭvikā.			

In stage (9) shortening is applied by P. 7.4.13 and not by P. 1.2.48 because the *ā* of *akhaṭvā* is not in final position of a *prātipadika*, which in our case happens to a cp. stem. We also note that in stage (5) *ṬāP* is not added after an *abhāṣitapuṃska* word, because the çp. *akhaṭva* is *bhāṣitapuṃska*. Precisely for that reason we cannot avail ourselves of P. 7.3.48 to have *akhaṭvikā* as an optional form. According to tradition and to our opinion, this form can only be derived by P. 7.3.44, which is a *nitya* rule.

(B 2 b) *akhaṭvakā* / *akhaṭvākā* 'a woman not having a bed'

The stages (1)-(3) are identical with those of the derivation stated under (B 2 a). From there we continue:

(4) (*akhaṭvā*	+ *kaP*)	+ *s*	P. 5.4.154
(5) ((*akhaṭvā*	+ *ka*) + *ṬāP*))	+ *s*	P. 4.1.4
(6) ((*akhaṭva*	+ *ka*) + *ā*))	+ *s*	P. 7.4.15
(7) *akhaṭvakā*		+ *s*	P. 6.1.101
(8) *akhaṭvakā*		+ °	P. 6.1.68
akhaṭvakā.			

In stage (6) P. 1.2.48 is not applied, because the *ā* of *akhaṭvvā* does not occur in final position of a *prātipadika*. The *prātipadika* concerned is (*akhaṭvā* + *ka*). The shortening by P. 7.3.15 is optional. In case the option is not made use of, we have the form *akhaṭvākā*. To our opinion, the prohibition of *ittva* is *nitya*. Therefore *akhaṭvākā* is the only possible alternative form. But, according to tradition, the prohibition of *ittva* is optional. Thus tradition accepts three forms, *akhaṭvākā*, *akhaṭvakā* and *akhaṭvikā* in case of the *bv. kaP* derivation.

4. The *KV* says that the present rule must be applied, when shortening is applied before the suffix *kaP* in a *bv.* cp. The reason stated is that here short *a* comes in place of the long *ā* of *ṬāP* belonging to the *abhāṣitapuṃska* form *khaṭvā*. After that form the suffix *kaP* is added. Then shortening is applied to the *bv.* form, which gives us *akhaṭvakā*. This being so, *ittva* is prohibited by P. 7.3.48.

The *KV* continues by saying that, when *akhatvā* is derived in the *bv.* sense of 'a woman who has no bed' and when the *taddhita* suffix *ka* is added in the sense of *alpa* 'small' (by P. 5.3.85), then the prohibition of *ittva* by P. 7.3.48, which is regarded as optional, does not apply. Thus we derive the form *akhaṭvikā*, namely, by P. 7.3.44. Similarly for *atikhaṭvā* (*prādisamāsa* by *Śaunāgavt*. F on P. 2.2.18; see *TA*, p. 193-194), derived in the sense of *atikrāntā khaṭvām* 'a woman who has violated the (nuptial) bed,' and for *akhaṭvikā*, derived in the sense of 'a woman who does not have a small bed.' Both forms are *bv. ka* derivations where *ittva* is applied by P. 7.3.44. See above under (B 2 a).

EXCURSUS on derivational suffixes, on *svārthika* and on *abhāṣitapuṃska*

1. Sanskrit grammar knows three categories of noun stem (*prātipadikā*) deri-vational suffixes, *kṛt*, *uṇādi*, and *taddhita* (including *samāsānta*). Curiously, in these categories fem. (gender) suffixes (*strīpratyayas*, P. 4.1.3-75) are not included (P. 4.1.1), although *taddhita* suffixes may be added to fem. formations. *Kṛt* and *uṇādi* suffixes are generally added (P. 3.1.92, *dhātoḥ*) in the sense of *kartṛ* and *karman*. With reference to this sense. the *KV* on P. 3.4.67, which prescribes the general meaning of *kṛt* suffixes (dealt with in the section P. 3.1.91- 3.4.117), says *yeṣv arthanirdeśo nāsti tatredam upatiṣṭhate* 'with regard to those (suffixes) for which there is no statement of meaning this rule (P. 3.4.67) presents itself.' See also P. 3.4.70. Special meanings are prescribed to *kṛt* suffixes in some cases (P. 3.1.125, 127-132; 3.2.20). Regarding *uṇādi* suffixes P. 3.4.75 tells us that they are used in senses other than *saṃpradāna* and *apādāna*.

Taddhita suffixes (dealt with in P. 4.1.76-5.4.160) make up about 31% of the total number of rules in the A. The *SK* divides the *taddhita* suffixes into fifteen groups, some of them formed on the basis of meaning, like *apatya* or *matvartha*, but most of them on the basis of groups of particular suffixes. The *SK* does not acknowledge *svārthika* suffixes as a separate group within the *taddhita* section.

To *taddhita* suffixes meanings are assigned which stand in a varying relation to the meaning of the stem (simple noun or cp.) to which the suffixes are added. On the basis of meanings judged typical classes are set up which are defined

in semantic terms, like *tasya apatyam* P. 4.1.92, *tena raktam* (P. 4.2.1), *tasya idam* (P. 4.3.120) and *tasya vikāraḥ* (P. 4.3.134). These are grammatical meaning categories listed in grammar, as distinct from lexical meanings independently conveyed by stems, and listed in a dictionary. Meanings may also be defined in terms of case endings, like in P. 5.3.1, etc. *Taddhita* suffixes may be *luk*-deleted so that the lexical stem shows no trace of them at all, like by P. 5.3.83-84. *AkAC* in P. 5.3.71 is an isolated instance of a *taddhita* suffix which is better regarded as an augment. By adding *taddhita* suffixes new words are formed which often in word class and usually in meaning differ from the original stem to which these suffixes are added. Still, the differences in meaning can be systematically accounted for in grammar by classifying and defining the relations holding between the original stem meaning and the meaning of the derived form. This is what is done on a big scale in the *taddhita* section.

2. The terms *svārtha, svārthe* and *svārthika* are not used in the A. Kātyāyana uses the word *svārtha* in two phrases, *anādeśe svārthavijñānāt* 'because when no specification (of the suffix meaning) is given we understand the (stem's) own (literal) meaning' (*Vt*. I on P. 3.3.19 and 3.4.67; *Vt*. III on P. 5.3.10), and *svārthavijñānāt siddham* 'we can manage because we understand the (stem's) own (literal meaning' (*Vt*. IV on P. 4.4.140). These *Vts* serve to explain the purpose of the mention of a particular meaning which functions as a qualifier of the stem meaning concerned.

Patañjali, who uses the words *svārtha, svārthe* and *svārthika* several times, explains the first phrase by saying *anirdiṣṭārthāḥ pratyayāḥ svārthe bhavantîti* 'because suffixes whose meaning has not been specified are used in (the stem's) own meaning' (*Mbh*. II, p. 145, lines 7-8; p. 177, lines 9-10). For the second phrase Patañjali offers the example *vasava eva vasavyāh pāntu* 'may the Vasavyas (that is) the Vasus themselves, offer protection.' From this it is clear that suffixes used *svārthe*, or *svārthika* suffixes are those suffixes whose meaning-function has not been specified. In addition, Patañjali defines *svārthika* suffixes as *svārthikāś ca prakṛtito liṅgavacanāny anuvartante* 'and *svārthika* suffixes follow the gender of the stem' (*Mbh*. II, p. 432, line 7). See also *PN*, *pbh*. 113. In the introduction to *PN*, *pbh*. 113, (*PN*, Pt. I, p. 191, line 6) Nāgeśa even uses the term *atyantasvārthika* '(suffixes) which convey no meaning whatever.'

How to make sense of *anādeśa* and *anādiṣṭārtha*? If these terms are taken literally, there will be very few *svārthika* suffixes, because the great majority of *taddhita* suffixes in the A. has been provided with an indication of the meaning in which they are added to a stem. Whitney, § 1206 b, dealing with the meaning of

taddhita suffixes says "a few suffixes make no change in the part of speech of the primitive, but either change its degree (diminutive or comparison), or make other modifications, or leave its meaning not sensibly altered." We note that, while defining *svārthika*, the *KV* does not make use of the word *anādeśa* or *anādiṣṭa*, but uses the term *dyotaka* 'revealing.' *Dyotaka*, as opposed to *vācaka* 'directly stating' is the term used in later grammar, especially Bhartṛhari, for linguistic elements which have no independent meaning of their own, but which are thought to bring out a particular shade of meaning of the stem to which they are added. In its commentary on P. 5.3.66 the *KV* uses the terms *svārthe* and *svārthika*. Here *svārthika* suffixes are defined as *prakṛtyarthaviśeṣasya dyotakāḥ* 'revealing a distinction in the meaning of the stem.' Earlier, in his *bhāṣya* on this rule, Patañjali had said *prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇam etat* 'this (suffix *rūpaP*) is a qualifier of the meaning of the stem.' One of the examples quoted by the *KV* is *vaiyākaraṇarūpaḥ* 'a famous grammarian.' The meaning relation with the original stem meaning is phrased in terms of a *viśesyaviśeṣaṇa* relation in which the *viśeṣaṇa* identified with the suffix meaning becomes a qualifying, adjectival meaning, like 'famous' or 'small' (P. 5.3.85). Non-*svārthika taddhita* suffixes, like *iÑ* (P. 4.1.95), however, change the reference, i.e., the item referred to, of the original stem. *Dāśarathi* is a different person from *daśaratha*.

3. So what? Our conclusion is that, at least in later grammatical tradition, already found in Patañjali's *viśeṣaṇa*-view, *svārthika* suffixes are those *taddhita* suffixes to which a meaning is ascribed which functions as a qualifier of the stem meaning, and thereby brings out meanings which are thought to be inherent in the stem meaning. Obviously, the concept of meaning adopted here leaves several questions unanswered.

In addition, we have a few *atyantasvārthika* suffixes which do not involve any change of the stem meaning. One example is the *samāsānta* suffix *kaP* prescribed by P. 5.4.154. Another example is the *taddhita* suffix *akAC* prescribed by P. 5.3.71. Also, the suffix *ka* may be added to a stem without any notable change of the stem meaning.

4. The fem. word *aśvā* is *bhāṣitapuṃska*, because we have the corresponding masc. form *aśva*. On the other hand, *khaṭvā* is *abhāṣitapuṃska*, because we do not have a corresponding masc. form *khaṭva*, even if for grammatical purposes we may analyse *khaṭvā* as *khaṭva* + *ṬāP*.

The *bv.* cp. *akhaṭva* (obtained by shortening of final *ā* by P. 1.2.48) is *bhāṣitapuṃska*. Therefore, before adding *ka*, which is a *svārthika* suffix, we must decide whether *akhaṭva* is to be used with reference to a masc., fem. or neuter item.

We opt for the fem. Accordingly, we add the suffix *ṬāP*. Here *ṬāP* is added to a *bhāṣitapuṃska* word. That gives us *akhaṭvā*. Then we add *ka*. Since *ṬāP* is added to a *bhaṣitapuṃska* word, P. 7.3.48, which prohibits *ittva*, is not applicable. To have *ittva*, we apply P. 7.3.44. That gives us *akhaṭvikā*.

5. In the case of *kaP* we derive the fem. *bv*. cp. stem as ((*akhaṭva* + *ṬāP*) + *ka*)) + *ṬāP*. Here the first long *ā* (resulting from *akhaṭva* + *ṬāP*) is shortened before *kaP* by P. 7.3.15. The resulting form is *akhaṭvaka*. Here we add *ṬāP* again because reference is to a fem. item. That gives us *akhaṭvakā*. Since here *ka* has been added to the fem. form *akhaṭvā*, which is a *bhāṣitapuṃska* word because it is a *bv*. cp., P. 7.3.48 does not prescribe optional *ittva*. The optional form allowed by P. 7.3.15 is *akhaṭvākā*. Tradition, in addition, allows *akhaṭvakā* and *akhaṭvikā* as optional forms.

END OF EXCURSUS

6. In the derivations stated above we have adopted the *krameṇa anvākhyāna* procedure. One reason is that this procedure here does not involve a conflict with the *padasaṃskāra* view which is the theoretically preferred one. Another reason is that the *krameṇa* procedure offers a clear insight in the sequence of rules to be applied. The third reason is a practical one. The *padasaṃskāra* method requires a relatively broad page which is not easily available in the format used for computer printing..

7. According to Whitney, § 1181, *aka* is the suffix *ka* added to a base in *a*, and subsequently turned into an independent suffix. It has few examples in the older language. The form is usually derived with *ikā*. For derivatives with *āka* see § 1181 d.

Whitney deals with the suffix *ka* in § 1222. Here he says that it has been specialised into an element forming diminutives, and much more widely into an element without definable value. He further notes (§ 1222 e. and f.) that it is added, with unchanged meaning, both to simple nouns and to cps. Two suffixes made up of *ka* with a preceding vowel, *aka* and *ika*, are given by grammarians as independent suffixes (§ 1222 j.). Some examples from the later language showing *vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the primitive stem are quoted (§ 1222 l.). Among them are *āhnika*, *dhārmika*, *naiyāyika*, and *vaidika*. In the A. they are *ṭha* formations dealt with in P. 4.4.1-75 inclusive, and P. 7.3.50. *Vṛddhi* is by P. 7.2.117-118, except in *naiyāyika* for which P. 7.3.3. prescribes an augment denoted by *aiC*.

8. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.49 ĀD ĀCĀRYĀṆĀM 'to the opinion of teachers, *āṬ* (comes in place of short *a* which has come in place of long *ā* before *k* belonging to a suffix coming after a nominal base *aṅga* which is *abhāṣitapuṃska* "not having a corresponding masc. form," if *āP* follows immediately, provided that *āP* does not come after a case ending) '

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of long *ā* (instead of short *i*) for the *a* substituted for *ā* followed by *k* of a suffix, on the conditions stated. P. 7.3.49 therefore states an exception to the *ittva* prescribed by P. 7.3.44.

2. The *uddeśya* is *ācāryāṇām* (*abhāṣitapuṃskāt aṅgāt pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasya ātaḥ sthāne ataḥ āpi asupaḥ*). *Ācāryāṇām* is a pl. gen. in connection with which the word *matena* 'according to the opinion' is supplied. No specification of the *ācāryas* is provided. *Abhāṣitapuṃskāt* is continued from P. 7.3.48. *Pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasya* is continued from P. 7.3.44. *Ātaḥ sthāne* is continued from P. 7.3.46. *Ataḥ āpi asupaḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.44. The *Nyāsa* notes that the phrase *nañpūrvāṇām api* from P. 7.3.47 has been discontinued. The *vidheya* is *āT*. It discontinues *iT* from P. 7.3.44. The function of the *anubandha T* has been defined by P. 1.1.70. *Na* from P. 7.3.46 is discontinued because P. 7.3.49 introduces a new *vidheya*. See *FANU*, p. 274, convention 40.

According to the *Nyāsa*, the word *ācāryāṇām* has been stated to confer the character of a *nitya* rule on P. 7.3.49 after P. 7.3.46-48, which are traditionally regarded as optional because of the continuation of *udīcām*. The *Padamañjari* records an opinion according to which *ācāryāṇām* refers to Pānini's own teacher, the use of the pl. being honorific.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *khaṭvākā* 'a small bed,' *akhaṭvākā* 'other than a small bed' and *paramakhaṭvākā* 'a superior bed.' They are all three of them derived from the *abhāṣitapuṃska* form *khaṭvā*.

4. There is no *bhāṣya* on the present rule.

5. P. 7.3.49 concludes the sub-section dealing with *ittva*.

RECAPITULATION of the rules from P. 7.3.44 onwards.

(1) P. 7.3.44 prescribes *ittva* in the sequence x + [*a* + *ka*] + *āP* on the condition that *āP* must not come immediately after a case ending. P. 7.3.44 is a *nitya*

rule. Examples are the non-cps *jaṭilikā*, *kārikā* and *etikās*. They demonstrate that the inner sequence [*a* + *ka*] is brought about in three ways

a. A stem final *a* + the *taddhita* suffix *ka*.

b. *Aka* as the replacement of the *kṛt* suffixes *ṆvuL*, etc.

c. The *taddhita* suffix a*kAC* + *a* of a pronominal stem after the application of P.7.2.102.

(2) P. 7.3.45 prohibits *ittva* for the pronominal stems *akAC* derivation of the pronominal stems *yā* and *sā* on the same conditions The examples are *yakā* and *sakā*. P. 7.3.45 is a *nitya* rule.

(3) P. 7.3.46 contains the word *udîcām*. In the traditional interpretation P. 7.3.46 is an optional rule. It optionally prohibits *ittva* in the sequence *ya* + *ka* + *ṬāP* where both *ya* and *ka* belong to suffixes, and in the sequence *ka* + *ka* + *ṬāP* The examples are non-cp. forms One example is *ibhyakā*, derived from *ibha* + *yaT* + *ṬāP* + *ka* + *ṬāP*. The optionally allowed form is *ibhyikā*. Another example is *mūṣikakā*, derived from *mūṣika* + *ṬāP* + *ka* + *ṬāP*. The optionally allowed forms are *ibhyikā* and *mūṣikikā*.

In our interpretation, P. 7.3.46 is a *nitya* rule regarding the usage of the northerners. *Na* is continued from P. 7.3.45. Therefore P. 7.3.46 prohibits *ittva* in the usage concerned. Consequently, forms like *ibhyikā* belong to a different usage.

(4) P. 7.3.47 specifically mentions six stems, three of them being pronominals, in connection with *ittva*. It introduces the statement *nañpurvāṇām api*. Thereby cps are referred to. Tradition continues the word *udīcām*, and thus regards the rule as an optional prohibition. The examples appear in two forms, one for a non-cp., the other for a cp. The cp. may be a *nañtatpuruṣa* or a *nañbahuvrīhi*. Given the option, the forms appear as ending in °*aka* and in °*ika*. An example of the nominal forms is the non-cp *bhastrakā* and the cp. *abhastrakā* in two meanings. Examples of the pronominal forms are the non-cps. *eṣakā* and *dvake* with the corresponding forms in °*ikā* and °*ike*. Here no *nañsamasa* is available. Tradition regards the statement *nañpūrvāṇām api* as redundant.

In our interpretation, P. 7.3.47 is a *nitya* rule in which *na* is continued. *Udīcām* from P. 7.3.46 is discontinued. Thus for the six words mentioned P. 7.3.47 prohibits *ittva* and allows forms in °*aka* only.

(5) P. 7.3.48 introduces the term *abhāṣitapuṃska*. The topic, therefore, is derivations of fem. words with the help of a suffix containing *k* for which words

no corresponding masc. form is available. Tradition continues the word *udīcām* again, and thus regards the rule as an optional prohibition. The examples appear in two forms, one for a non-cp., the other for a cp. The cp. may be a *nañtatpuruṣa* or a *nañbahuvrihi* derived with the suffix *kaP*. The examples are the non-cp. *khaṭvakā* and the cp. *akhaṭvakā* in two meanings. Given the option, the forms appear as ending in °*ākā* and in °*ikā*.

In our interpretation, P. 7.3.48 is a *nitya* rule in which *na* is continued. Thus for *abhāṣitapuṃska* words P. 7.3.48 prohibits *ittva* and allows forms in °*akā* only.

(6) P. 7.3.49 refers to an opinion of unspecified grammarians. It says that in the case of *abhāṣitapuṃska* words *ittva* is not applied at all, but *āttva* is. Thereby all °*ikā*-derivations are thrown out. Thus the only derivations allowed for *abhāṣitapuṃska* words are those ending in °*akā*.

7.3.50 ṬHASYEKAḤ '*ika* (comes) in place of *ṭha* (of a suffix connected with an *aṅga*)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *ika* for *ṭha* of a suffix after an *aṅga*. The sound *ṭh* is not an *anubandha*. Therefore it is not written with capitals.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya pratyayasya*) *ṭhasya*. Here *aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. According to the *KV*, *aṅgasya* is a *nimittaṣaṣṭhī*, a gen. case ending indicating the cause. The idea is that *ika* comes in place of that *ṭha* which is the cause of the designation *aṅga*. According to the *Nyāsa*, *aṅgasya* is a *saṃbandhaṣaṣṭhī*, a gen. case ending indicating a relation, that is, a *śeṣaṣaṣṭhī*, by P. 2.3.50. Instead of *aṅgasya*, we may also continue *aṅgāt* (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*), because in any case the suffix is added after the *aṅga*. The meaning *pratyayasya* is implied on account of the stem-suffix relation which is the topic of the *aṅgādhikāra*. It qualifies *ṭhasya*, which is a technical genitive by P. 1.1.49. *Ṭha* is an *upadeśa* form not occurring in actual usage. The suffixes *ṭhaK*, *ṭhaÑ*, *ṭhaN*, etc., all of them beginning with *ṭha*, are introduced in P. 4.4.1-75 (inclusive). The complete context of the preceding rules dealing with *ittva* is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. There is no possibility of connecting it with P. 7.3.50. The *vidheya* is *ika*.

3. The examples for P. 7.3.50 quoted by the *KV* are: *ākṣika* 'one who plays with dice', and *śālākika* 'a gambler', derived with the suffix *ṭhaK* (P 4.4.2), and *lāvanika* 'one who sells salt', derived with the suffix *ṭhaÑ* (P. 4.4.52).

The *prakriyā* of *ākṣika* is as follows:

(1) *akṣa* + *ṭhaK* P. 4.4.2
(2) *akṣa* + *ika* P. 7.3.50
(3) *ākṣa* + *ika* P. 7.2.118
(4) *ākṣ°* + *ika* P. 6.4.148
ākṣika.

Similarly for the other two examples.

4. Basing itself on *Vts* I and II on the present rule, the *KV* raises the question whether in *ṭhaK*, etc. we deal with a suffix consisting of a phoneme only, namely, *ṭh*, or with a suffix to be read as *ṭh* + *a*. The first view (A) is called *varṇamātraṃ pratyayaḥ* 'a suffix which is a phoneme only', the second view (B) *saṃghātaḥ* 'a combination (of phonemes).' The *KV* explains that in view A the *a* is merely added for ease of pronunciation, and the *ṭh* is regarded as the *sthānin* to be replaced by *ika*. In the second view *ṭha* is the *sthānin* replaced by *ika*. The *KV* does not pay further attention to view A, but straightaway discusses difficulties raised in connection with view B.

The *Nyāsa* summarizes the difficulties as follows. In view A we cannot justify the reading *ṭhasya*. The rule should have stated *ṭhaḥ*. So much for view A. Then should we accept view B? Here we first have the difficulty that P. 7.3.50 over-applies to an *uṇādisūtra*. This is not desired. Which *uṇādisūtra*? Referring to *Vt*. II on the rule, the *KV* mentions the *uṇādisūtra kaṇes ṭhaḥ* (*SK*, *uṇādiprakaraṇa* 1.108). It derives the word *kaṇṭha* 'throat' from *kaṇ* + *ṭha*. Patañjali in his *bhāṣya* on *Vt*. II also mentions the words *vaṇṭha* (used in various meanings) and *śaṇṭha* (meaning uncertain). Since in view A the *uṇādi* rule does not prescribe the suffix *ṭh*, but a suffix consisting of *ṭh* + *a*, in this view the difficulty of over-application does not arise at all. To remove this difficulty in view B, the *KV* invokes the word *bahulam* in P. 3.2.1. *Bahulam* means 'variously.' Compare *AP* X, P. 7.1.2, under 6. This sheds an interesting light on the relation between *Pāṇinisūtras* and *uṇādisūtras*, in the sense that substitutions of suffixes taught by the first are not always applicable to the suffixes taught in the latter.

5. But, as noticed by *Vt*. II on the rule, there is one more difficulty in view B. If we adopt this view, we cannot derive the word *māthitika* 'one who sells butter.' The form is mentioned in *Vt*. II on P. 5.3.83 as the first word of a *gaṇa*. Patañjali here derives the word in the sense of *mathitaṃ paṇyam asya* 'butter is his selling commodity.' The derivation is as follows:

(1) *mathita* + *ṭhaK* P. 4.4.51

(2) *māthita* + *ṭha* P. 7.2.118
(3) *māthita* + *ika* P. 7.3.50
(4) *māthit°* + *ika* P. 6.4.148

At this stage P. 7.3.51 becomes applicable. This rule says that *ka* comes in place of *ṭha* which is added after an *aṅga* ending in *t*. According to P. 1.1.56, the *ādeśa* (*ika*) is treated like the *sthānin* (*tha*). That would give us the undesired form **mathitka*. To remove this difficulty, the *KV* invokes the *sannipātalakṣaṇa pbh.* (*PN, pbh.* 85). This *pbh.* tells us that a rule which becomes applicable due to the connection, i.e., the immediate sequence, of two linguistic items cannot become the cause of another rule which destroys that connection. The application of P. 6.4.148 depends on the sequence (*mathit*)*a* + *ika*. One might say that the zero-substitution of *a* owes its existence to *ika*. The result of the zero-substitution by P. 6.4.148 is *mathit°* + *ika*. Here the resulting final *t* is the cause of P. 7.3.51 becoming applicable. The application of P. 7.3.51, in its turn, destroys the earlier sequence *mathita* + *ika* where *ika*, that is, *ṭha*, was the cause of the zero-substitution. This is not allowed. *PN, pbh.* 85, prevents the application of P. 7.3.51 here.

We note that in view A the difficulty made in connection with *māthitaka* does not arise. The reason is that by adopting *th* as the *sthānin* P. 7.3.50 becomes an *alvidhi* 'rule depending on the presence of a phoneme.' Consequently, the condition *analvidhau* in P. 1.1.50 prohibits the transference of the property *th-tva* to the *ādeśa ika* Since *sthānivadbhāva* is disallowed, there is no *ṭh*. We simply derive *māthitika*.

But in view B there is another way also of preventing the application of P. 7.3.51. To do so, the *KV* turns to P. 1.1.57, following a tricky interpretation of this rule taken literally from Patañjali (*Mbh.* III, p. 329, line 4). The idea is that the deleted *a* of *mathita* may be regarded as *sthānivat* by P. 1.1.57. This rule says that a vowel substitution conditioned by a following element is treated like the original vowel *parasmin pūrvavidhau* 'when the question is of applying a grammatical operation to the element immediately preceding (the substitute).' Here *pūrvavidhau* is interpreted as *pūrvasya vidhau*. Thus P. 1.1.57 assumes a sequence of three elements, a preceding element, a *sthānin* and a following element which causes the substitution. The grammatical operation concerns the preceding element. But taken in the sense just stated P. 1.1.57 cannot become helpful in establishing *sthānivadbhāva* in the case of *māthitika*. For that purpose Patañjali and the *KV* re-interpret the word *pūrvavidhau*. It is taken in the sense of *pūrvasmād uttarasya vidhau* 'when a grammatical operation becomes applicable to the element which immediately follows after the preceding element.' In this interpretation the grammatical operation con-

cerns the following element, not the preceding one. In the sequence *mathita* + *ṭha* the following element is *ṭha*. The grammatical operation concerning this following element is its replacement by *ika*. In its turn, *ika* causes the deletion of the preceding *a*. But in the re-interpretation of P. 1.1.57 the zero-substitute of *a* will be *sthānivat*. Since it is *sthānivat*, the *t* of *mathita* is not in final position. Therefore P. 7.3.51 cannot be applied. The argument is totally unconvincing.

The *Padamañjari* records the opinion of other grammarians (*anye*). Reference is to P. 7.3.51 which contains the word °*tāntāt* 'after (an *aṅga*) ending in *t*.' Since we can have the meaning *anta* already by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72), the mention of *anta* in P. 7.3.51 becomes redundant. To render it purposeful, we will assume that it has been stated for a particular purpose, namely, to inform us that *tānta* refers to the *upadeśa* stage. That is to say, the form ending in *t* must belong to the *upadeśa*, and not be the result of a grammatical operation. In *māthit* + *ika* the *aṅga*-final position of *t* is due to the application of P. 6.4.148. Therefore the question of applying P. 7.3.51 does not arise.

The conclusion is that the *KV* rejects the *varṇamātra* view, and adopts the *saṃghāta* view.

6. We have three *Vts* on the rule. *Vt*. I is an *iti ced Vt*. It says that, if in the domain of a substitute for *ṭha*, (the view that) mention is of a single phoneme (*ṭh* instead of *ṭha* is adopted), a prohibition (should be stated for *ṭh*) as the final of a verbal base. The examples provided by Patañjali are *paṭhitā* 'one who recites' and *paṭhitum* 'in order to recite.' In *paṭh*- the verbal base final is *ṭh*. It should not be replaced by *ika*.

Vt. II is another *iti ced Vt*. It says that if we adopt the view that mention is of a combination *ṭh* + *a*, and not simply *ṭh*, a prohibition should be stated for the *uṇādi* suffix *ṭha* and in the case of *māthitika*, etc. See under 4 and 5, above.

Vt. III says that *ṭha* is the mention of a particular (type of suffix). That is to say, we should understand that *ṭha* in P. 7.3.50 is a *taddhita* suffix, not an *uṇādi* suffix. To put it differently, we should understand that the rule should be be phrased as *taddhitasya ṭhasyekaḥ*.

7. We note that P. 7.3.50-51 form a unit which shows no connection with the previous or following rules. Then why have these rules been put here, and why not immediately after P. 7.1.2 as P. 7.1.3* and 7.1.4*? P. 7.1.2 prescribes the substitution of *āyan*, *ey*, etc. in place of *ph*, *dh*, etc., when occurring in initial position

of a suffix introduced in the *upadeśa* and coming after a nominal base *aṅga*. Thus *āyan-a* comes in place of *ph-a* (*phaK*, P. 4.1.99) and *āyan-i* comes in place of *ph-i* (*phiÑ*, P. 4.1.150). Then why not interpret P. 7.3.50 as saying that *ik* comes in place of *ṭh*? One reason may be that the intention of the *sūtrakāra* was precisely to show that *ṭha* as a whole is to be replaced by *ika*. But that does not answer the question why P. 7.3.50-51 have been put between P. 7.3.49 and P. 7.3.52.

7.3.51 IS-US-UK-TĀNTĀT KAḤ '*ka* (comes in place of *ṭha* of a suffix added) after (a nominal base *aṅga*) ending in *is*, *us*, a vowel included in the *pratyāhāra uK*, or in *t* '

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *ka* for *ṭha* belonging to a suffix, on the conditions stated. P. 7.3.51 is an exception to P. 7.3.50.

2. The *uddeśya* is *is-us-uk-tāntāt* (*aṅgāt ṭhasya*). *Isusuktānta* is a *bv*. cp. in which °*anta* is to be connected with each member individually. *Isusuktāntā*t is a technical abl. by P. 1.1.67. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgāt*. *UK* is a *pratyāhāra* 'abbreviative designation.' It includes the vowels *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ*, although for *ḷ* there are no examples. The word *aṅgāt* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Ṭhasya* is continued from P. 7.3.50. For *ṭha* see P. 7.3.50, under 2. The *vidheya* is *kaḥ*. It discontinues *ikaḥ* from P. 7.3.50.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* and explained by the *Nyāsa* are:

(a) For forms ending in *is*: *sārpiṣka* 'one who sells ghee' (P. 4.4.51, *ṭhaK*). Also apply P. 7.2.118; 7.3.51; 8.2.66; 8.3.15 and 8.3.39.

(b) For forms ending in *us*: *dhānuṣka* 'one who wins with a bow' (P. 4.4.57, *ṭhaK*) and *yājuṣka* 'one who wins through (using) sacrificial mantras' (?) (P. 4.4.2, *ṭhaK*)

(c) For forms ending in *uK*: *naiṣādakarṣuka* 'one who is born in the Niṣādakarṣu country, ' (P. 4.2.119, *ṭhaÑ*), *śābarajambūka* 'one who is born the the Śabarajambū country' (P. 4.2.119, *ṭhaÑ*; *ādivṛddhi* by P. 7.2.117), *mātṛka* 'coming from the mother' (P. 4.3.78, *ṭhaÑ*), *paitṛka* 'coming from the father' (P. 4.3.78, *ṭhaÑ*).

(d) for forms ending in *t*: *audaśvitka* 'prepared with buttermilk' (P. 4.2.19, *ṭhaK*),' *śākṛtka* 'mixed with excrement' (P. 4.4.22, *ṭhaK*), *yākṛtka* 'mixed with liver' (P. 4.4.22, *ṭhaK*).

4. Following Patañjali in his *bhāṣya* on the rule, the *KV* then introduces a distinction between forms ending in *is* and *us* which are *pratipadokta* 'stated as a specific wordform' and others, also ending in *is* and *us*, which are not *pratipadokta*. In the latter case, P. 7.3.51 is not applicable. The *Nyāsa* explains that reference is to *PN*, *pbh.* 105. This *pbh.* tells us that when we have a word which may be taken to represent a form derived by a rule (*lākṣaṇika*) and an original non-derived form, we should opt for the latter. The examples quoted for *lākṣaṇika is-* and *us*-forms are *āṣiṣika*, derived in the sense of *āṣiṣā carati* 'he engages in a blessing' and *auṣika*, derived in the sense of *uṣā carati* 'he moves with daybreak, rises early.' Apparently, the examples for *is-* and *us*-words quoted earlier, namely, *sarpis* and *dhanus* are considered to be *pratipadokta*.

What exactly is the difference? The words *sarpis* and *dhanus* are *uṇādi*-derivations from *sṛp-* and *dhan-* (*SK*, No. 273, and No. 282, respectively). The suffixes *is* and *us* have been specifically stated in the *uṇādisūtras* concerned. But in *āśiṣika* and *auṣika* the *is* and *us* forms are the result of rule application. As explained by the *Nyāsa*, *āśis* is derived from *āṄ* + *śāsU* + *KviP* (P. 3.2.76, deleted by P. 6.1.66). Here the *ā* of *śās-* is replaced by *i* (*Vt.* I on P. 6.4.34). Therefore here the *is-* ending is the result of rule application. Similarly in *auṣika*. We start from *vas* + *KviP*. *KviP* is deleted. *Saṃprasāraṇa* is applied by P. 6.1.15. The result is *us*. To such forms P. 7.3.51 is not applied.

5. Finally, the *KV* mentions a *Vt.*-like statement, based on Patañjali's *bhāṣya*. The statement says that inclusion should be made of *dos* 'arms.' The example provided by Patañjali is *dauṣka*. It is derived in the sense of *dorbhyāṃ carati* 'he moves by means of his arms.' Reference is to P. 4.4.8. *Vṛddhi* is by P. 7.2.118. Substititution of a retroflexed ṣ by P. 8.3.39. Patañjali explains that parts of a phoneme (*varṇaikadeśa*) are covered by the term *varṇa*. The idea is that the *o* can be analysed as consisting of the part vowels *a* and *u*. Accordingly, *dos* is deemed equal to *da* + *us*. This being so, we can apply P. 7.3.51 to derive the form *dauṣka*. Patañjali's explanation is based on fantasy.

7.3.52 CAJOḤ KU GHIṆṆYATOḤ '(a phoneme belonging to the) *ku*(-class comes) in place of *c* or *j* (of a verbal base *aṅga*), if (a suffix) marked with *GH* or (the suffix) *ṆyaT* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *kU* sound for two palatals on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya*) *cajoḥ ghiṇṇyatoḥ* (*pratyayoḥ*). *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. Its reference has shifted from a nominal base in the preceding rules to a verbal base. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *cajoḥ*. The word *cajoḥ* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. It discontinues *ṭhasya* from P. 7.3.50. *GHiṇṇyatoḥ* is a technical loc. du. by P. 1.1.66. It is a *dvandva* cp. which stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with the supplied word *pratyayoḥ*. This word is supplied because the context is formed by rules which deal with a stem-suffix relation. *GH* is an *anubandha* (*it*-letter by P. 3.1.8) whose function is defined by the present rule. It is used in connection with *kṛt* suffixes only. On the basis of the *sahacarita-pbh*. (*PN*, *pbh*. 103) we infer that *ṆyaT* also refers to a *kṛt* suffix. The *kṛt* suffix *ṆyaT* is introduced by P. 3.1.124. The *vidheya* is *kU*. It stands for a sound homogeneous (*savarṇa*) with *k*, by P. 1.1.69. The term *kU* is used in P. 1.3.8. It is either a sg. ntr. word, or an *avibhaktiko nirdeśaḥ* 'mention (of a term) without case ending.' *KU* discontinues *kah* from P. 7.3.51.

The present rule opens up a sub-section dealing with *ku*-class replacement up tp P. 7.3.60 inclusive.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *GHit* suffixes: *pāka* 'cooking' (*GHaÑ*, P. 3.3.18), *tyāga* 'renouncing,' and *rāga* 'colouring.' By P. 1.1.50 the *c* is replaced by *k*, and the *j* by *g*. *Vṛddhi* of the verbal base vowel by P. 7.2.116.

(b) For *ṆyaT* (P. 3.1.124): *pākyam* 'what is to be cooked,' *vākyam* 'sentence' and *rekyam* 'what is to be emptied.' *Vṛddhi* of the verbal base vowel in the first two forms is by P. 7.2.116. In *rekya guṇa* is applied by P. 7.3.86. According to P. 7.3.67, the *c* of *vac-* is not replaced by *k* before *ṆyaT* when the meaning 'sentence' is not conveyed. Thus we also have *vācyam* 'what is to be spoken.'

4. The *Nyāsa* mentions an opinion according to which the *yathāsaṃkhya-pbh*. (P. 1.3.10) should be applied to the present rule. P. 7.3.52 contains the words *cajoḥ* and *ghiṇṇyatoḥ*, which can be considered to represent two sets of strictly corresponding items. Thus the final *c* of verbal bases and its replacement by a *ku*-sound would correspond with a following *GHit* suffix, and he final *j* and its replacement with a following *ṆyaT*. The *Nyāsa* rejects this on the ground that the replacements of both *c* and of *j* are applied before *GHit* suffixes.

The *Padamañjari* records a *KV* text reading which says *yathāsaṃkhyam atra neṣyate tena raktaṃ rāgād iti liṅgāt* 'here the application of P. 1.3.10 is not desired

because of the indication provided by (the rule) *tena raktaṃ rāgāt* (P. 4.2.1).' From the form *rāgāt* it is clear that the verbal base final *j* is replaced by *g* even before the *GHit* suffix *GHaÑ*.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.53 NYAṄKVĀDĪNĀṂ CA 'also in the case of *nyaṅku* 'deer,' etc.'

1. This is a *nipātana* rule enumerating ready-made words. The *nipātanas* in case are words in which a *ku*-sound has been substituted for the verbal base final. But, as will be clear from the sequel, this has not happened in some words.

2. In the case of *nipātanasūtras* there is no regular *uddeśyavidheyabhāva*. A contextual explanation is required. That is to say, *kutva* has been applied to the words mentioned in the *gaṇa* under the same conditions as stated by P. 7.3.52. The *gaṇa*, starting with *nyaṅku* 'deer,' is mentioned in the plural. The gen. is a non-technical one. Supply *kutvaṃ bhavati* 'the substitution of a *kU*-class phoneme is applied (to derive *nyaṅku*, etc.).'

The particle *ca* is redundantly added. Or it may be taken as an indication that P. 7.3.53 is added later on by saying 'also.'

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* have been divided into four groups. They are as follows:

(a) *nyaṅku, madgu, bhṛgu*

The *KV* explains that in *nyaṅku* the suffix *u* has been added by an *uṇādisūtra* (*SK*, No. 17). From *ni* + *anc* + *u* we derive *ny* + *aṅk* + *u* by P. 6.1.77 and 7.3.53. Thereafter P. 8.3.24 and 8.4.58 are applied. In the case of *madgu* the *u* is added after *masj*- by *uṇādisūtra SK*, No. 7. Thereafter P. 7.3.53 (*masg*) and P. 8.4.53 are applied. In the case of *bhṛgu*, the *u* is added after *bhrasj*- by *uṇādisūtra SK*, No. 28. The *sūtra* also prescribes deletion and *saṃprasāraṇa* for the verbal base.

(b) *dūrepāka, phalepāka, kṣaṇepāka, dūrepākā, phalepākā, dūrepāku, phalepāku*

The *KV* explains that *dūrepāka* conveys a *karmakartari* sense, namely, 'that which cooks of its own at a distance.' The suffix added after *pac*- is *aC* (P. 3.1.134). Then both *vṛddhi* and *kutva* are applied by P. 7.3.53. *Aluksamāsa* is by P. 6.3.14. Similarly for *phalepāka* 'that which cooks of its own in a fruit' and *kṣaṇepāka* 'that

which cooks of its own in an instant.' *Kṣaṇepāka* is a reading accepted by some. In *dūrepākā* and *phalepākā* the fem. suffix *ṬāP* is added. In the °*pāku* forms the *u* is added on account of *nipātana*. An *uṇādisūtra* for the suffix *u* here is not available.

(c) *takram, vakram, vyatiṣaṅga, anuṣaṅga, avasarga, upasarga, megha, śvapāka, māṃsapāka, kapotapāka, ulūkapāka*

The *KV* explains that *takram* 'buttermilk' and *vakram* 'bent, curved' (ntr.) are *raK*-derivations from *tanc-* and *vanc-* respectively, by the *uṇādisūtra SK*, No. 178. *Vyatiṣaṅga* 'mutual connection' is a *pacyādi aC*-derivation from *vi* + *ati* + *sanj* by P. 3.1.124. The retroflexed *ṣ* is substituted by P. 8.3.65. Similarly for *anuṣaṅga* 'a nasal followed by a consonant.' *Avasarga, upasarga* and *megha* are not explained by the *KV*. The first two words are *aC*-derivations from *srj-* by P. 3.1.134. *Vṛddhi* of the verbal base vowel is P. 7.3.86. *Megha* conveying the non-idiomatic sense of 'one who pisses' is an *aC*-derivation from *mih-* by P. 3.1.134. *Guṇa* of the verbal base vowel is by P. 7.3.86. Apparently, the substitution of *gh* for *h* is because of *nipātana*. *Śvapāka*, etc. are *upapada* formations from ((*śvan* + *am*) + *pac*)) + *aṆ*, etc., by P. 3.2.1. The *n* of *śvan* is deleted by P. 8.2.7.

(d 1) (*saṃjñayām* 'in an idiomatic, non-derivational sense') *megha, argha, avadāgha, nidāgha*

Here *megha* means 'cloud.' What these words have in common is that they are derived from a verbal base ending in *h*. Apparently, it is assumed that here *kutva* is not applied to *c* or *j* as verbal base finals, but to *h*, by way of *nipātana*. The *KV* explains *argha* ''price' as a derivation from *arh-* 'to show reverence,' and the last two words as derivations from *dah-* 'to burn.' The idiomatic meaning of *avadāgha* is uncertain. Compare *avadāha* in group (d2). *Nidāgha* means 'the hot season.'

(d 2) (*samjñāyāḥ anyatra* 'in a non-idiomatic, derivational sense') *arha, avadāha, nyagrodha, vīrut*

Why these forms, with the exception of *nyagrodha*, have been included in the *nyaṅkvādi-gaṇa* is not clear. At the most, they can serve as counterexamples in which. *kutva* has not been applied to the final *h* of the verbal base. *Arha* means 'worth,' which is the derivational sense. *Avadāha* may mean 'burning down,' but it also has a typical idiomatic sense. *Vîrut*, derived from *vi* + *ruh* + *KviP*, means a kind of plant. Lengthening in *vi* and the substitution of *dh* for the *h* of the verbal base are apparently applied because of *nipātana*. The *KV* derives it in the sense of

virohayati 'it causes to grow out.' The inclusion of *nyagrodha* makes sense. It is an *aC*-derivation from *nyanc* + *ruh*. The *KV* derives it in the sense of *nyag rohayati* 'it causes to grow downwards.'

4. In all, the *KV* mentions 29 items among which *megha* is mentioned twice, as a non-*saṃjña* and as a *saṃjña*. The Böhtlingk edition of the *Gaṇapāṭha* (p. 121*) mentions 24 items. In group (c) *mūlapāka* is inserted between *māṃsapāka* and *kapotapāka*. Group (d1), in a slightly different order, counts as one item in the Böhtlingk edition. From group (d2) only *nyagrodha* and *vīrut* are mentioned with the note that they do not belong here.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.54 HO HANTER ÑṆIṆNEṢU '(a phoneme belonging to the *kU*-class comes) in place of *h* of (the verbal base *aṅga* quoted as) *hanti* "to kill," if (a suffix marked with) *Ñ* or *Ṇ*, or if *n* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *kU* sound for the *h* of *han-* on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *hanteḥ* (*aṅgasya*) *hah ñṇinneṣu*. *Hanteḥ* is the sg. gen. of *hanti*, which is the quotation form of the verbal base *han-* (*Dhp*. 2.2) by *Vt*. II on P. 3.3.108. *Hanteḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. The word *aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1 as an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *hah*. The word *hah* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. *Ñṇinneṣu* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. *Ñṇitneṣu* discontinues *Ihiṇṇatyah* from P. 7.3.52. It is a *dvandva* cp. consiisting of three members, *Ñit*, *Ṇit* and *n*. *Ñit* and *Ṇit* refer to *pratyayas*. The *n* is the *n* of *han-* . "Follows immediately" is ambiguous. In the case of the *Ñit* and the *Ṇit* suffixes it refers to the immediate sequence of the *aṅga* and the *pratyayas*. In the case of *n* it refers to the immediate sequence of *h* and *n* of *han-* after the vowel *a* has been deleted by P. 6.4.98. See under 5, below. The *vidheya* is (*kU*), continued from P. 7.3.52.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For a *Ñit* suffix: *ghāta* 'killing' The suffix is *GHaÑ* by P. 3.3.18.

(b) For a *Ṇit* suffix: *ghātayati* 'he causes to kill,' *ghātaka* 'one who kills' and *ghātaṃghātam* 'after having killed repeatedly'. The suffixes are *ṆiC* (P. 3.1.26), *ṆvuL* (P. 3.1.133) and *ṆamUL* (P. 3.4.22).

(c) For *n*: *ghnanti* 'they kill,' *ghnantu* 'let them kill' and *aghnan* 'they killed'. The examples are borrowed from Patañjali.

For the derivation of *ghātayati, ghātaka* and *ghātaṃghātam* see P. 7.3.32, under 3. The derivation of *ghnanti* is as follows:

(1) *han-*		*Dhp.* 2.2
(2) *han*	+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3) *han*	+ *jhi*	P. 3.4.78
(4) *han*	+ *anti*	P. 7.1.3
(5) *han* + *ŚaP*	+ *anti*	P. 3.1.68
(6) *han* + °	+ *anti*	P. 2.4.71
(7) *h°n*	+ *anti*	P. 6.4.98
(8) *ghn*	+ *anti*	P. 7.3.54
ghnanti.		

For the imp. ending *tu* in *ghnantu* apply P. 3.4.86.

The *prakriyā* of *aghnan* is as follows:

(2) *han*	+ *lAṄ*	P. 3.2.111
(3) *a* + *han*	+ *lAṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(4) *a* + *han*	+ *jhi*	P. 3.4.78
(5) *a* + *han*	+ *anti*	P. 7.1.3
(6) *a* + *han* + *ŚaP*	+ *anti*	P. 3.1.68
(7) *a* + *han* + °	+ *anti*	P. 2.4.71
(8) *a* + *h°n*	+ *anti*	P. 6.4.98
(9) *a* + *ghn*	+ *anti*	P. 7.3.54
(10) *a* + *ghn*	+ *ant°*	P. 3.4.100
(11) *a* + *ghn*	+ *an°*	P. 8.2.23
aghnan.		

4. Why *haḥ*? The *KV* explains that *haḥ* has been stated to prevent the aplication of P. 1.1.52. Otherwise, *kutva* would be applied by this rule to the final *n* of *han-*.

Why *hanteḥ*? The *KV* quotes the counterexamples *prahāra* 'hitting' and *prahāraka* 'one who hits.' *Vṛddhi* is applied to the verbal base vowel by P. 7.2.115. The *Nyāsa* explains that these are a *GHaÑ-* and a *ṆvuL*-derivation of *prahṛ-*, by P.

3..3.18 and 3.1.113 respectively. Here the *h* is not replaced by *gh*, by P. 7.3.54. Obviously, here the *h* is not of *han-*.

5. Basing itself on the discussion in the *Vts* on the rule, the *KV* notes that *ñṇitsu*, which refers to suffixes, qualifies the *aṅga hanteḥ*, but *na*, which does not refer to a suffix, qualifies *haḥ*. Between *h* and *n* no stem-suffix relation exists. The *KV* says *nakāro hakārasya nakāre anantarasya hantihakārasya* 'the *n* (qualifies) the *h* (that is,) when *n* follows after the *h* of *han-* which is immediately adjoining.' For P. 7.3.54 to becomes applicable the immediate sequence of *h* and *n* is required. That sequence is based on immediate contact (*sannipātakṛta*), that is, based on hearing. No intervening sound should be heard between *h* and *n*. Then what about *sthānivadbhāva* (of the deleted *a*) by P. 1.1.57? This does not pose a hindrance, because of the strength of the statement of the rule, P. 7.3.54. That is to say, because otherwise P. 7.3.54 would have no scope. Therefore the statement of P. 7.3.54 overrules P. 1.1.57.

There is another way also to justify the wording of the rule. Suppose we treat *ñit*, *ṇit* and *na* on the same level by saying that the *h* of *han-* is qualified by all three of them. Then, still, according to the maxim *yena na avyavadhānaṃ tena vyavahite 'pi* 'by which phoneme there is an unavoidable separation (in the required immediate sequence of elements required for a grammatical operation), then (the operation still takes place) in spite of (the element undergoing the operation) having become separated' we can apply P. 7.3.54, even though the *Ñit* and the *Ṇit* suffixes are separated (from *h*) by part of the verbal base, namely, *an* (or *at*, P. 7.3.32). The point is that this part of the verbal base unavoidably intervenes. But this does not work in the case of the denominative form *hananīyati* 'to desire to kill oneself' (*KyaC* by P. 3.1.8; P. 7.4.33 for the replacement of final *a*), and in the *ṆvuL*-derivation *hananīyaka* 'a suicidal one' (P. 3.1.133). The examples are borrowed from Patañjali. The reason why P. 7.3.54 does not apply here is that the sequence *anīya* intervenes between the *h* and the *Ṇit* suffix *ṆvuL*, and that the intervention is avoidable.

6. We have five *Vts* on the rule. *Vt*. I is an *iti ced Vt*. It says that if we interpret the rule in the sense that *han-* has those (a *Ñit* suffix, a *Ṇit* suffix or *n*) as the immediately following elements, then we cannot establish an example for the rule when *n* is there. *Tatpara* in *hantes tatparasya* is a *bv*. cp. Patañjali quotes the examples *ghnanti*, *ghnantu* and *aghnan*. Here we have no *aṅga han-* which is followed by *n*.

Vt. II is an *iti ced Vt.* again. It says that if we interpret the rule in the sense that *h* (of *han-*) is immediately followed (by *n*), then P. 7.3.54 is not applicable when a *Ñit* or a *Ṇit* suffix follows immediately. Patañjali quotes the examples *ghātayati* 'he causes to kill' and *ghātaka* 'one who causes to kill.' The reason why the rule is not applicable in these cases is that (*a*)*n* intervenes between the *h* and the suffixes, like in the stages *han* + *GHaÑ* or *han* + *ṆiC*. Patañjali then argues that the rule is applicable on the strength of its having been stated. But then the difficulty is that P. 7.3.54 would also apply to the denominative of *han-* (by P. 3.1.8) and to its *ṆvuL*-derivation *hananīyaka*, where it is not desired.

Vt. III rejects *Vt.* II by saying that we cannot quote an example for the rule when we interpret it in the sense that the *h* (of *han-*) is immediately followed (by *n*), because the zero-substitute of *a* by P. 6.4.98 will be treated like the original *a*. Therefore there is no immediate sequence of *h* and *n*.

Vt. IV is an *iti ced Vt.* again. It says that if the argument of *vacanaprāmāṇya* 'the authority of the rule' is used, then we need a prohibition of P. 7.3.54, when deletion does not take place. Patañjali provides the examples *hantā* 'a killer' and *hantum* 'in order to kill.' Suppose we assume that intervention of (*a*)*n* is accepted because otherwise P. 7.3.54 would have no scope, then we have a problem in the forms quoted. Here the deletion of *a* by P. 6.4.98 does not apply, because the following suffix is neither *Kit*, nor *Ṅit*. So *a* intervenes between *h* and *n*. Now if P. 7.3.54 is allowed to apply here, we derive the wrong forms.

Vt. V finally says that we can manage by stating the condition *upadhālope* 'given deletion of the prefinal vowel' in the rule. This is an ingenious proposition which meets all requirements. P. 7.3.54 will be applicable in *ghnanti* and *aghnan*, because here the prefinal *a* is deleted (by P. 6.4.98). But the rule will not be applicable to *hantā* and *hantum*, because here the prefinal *a* has not been deleted.

Patañjali's reaction to Katyāyana's proposal is *yathānyāsam evāstu* 'let the rule be as it was phrased.' His idea is to manage by the maxim *yena nāvyavadhānaṃ tena vyavahite 'pi vacanaprāmāṇyāt*. Thus where intervention by a sound or by sounds cannot be avoided, P. 7.3.54 still applies, because otherwise it would have no scope. On the other hand, where intervention can be avoided, P. 7.3.54 is not applicable.

7.3.55 ABHYĀSĀC CA 'also (a phoneme belonging to the *kU*-class comes in place of *h* of the verbal base *aṅga* quoted as *hanti* "to kill") after the reduplication'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *kU*-class sound for the *h* of *han-* on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *abhyāsāt* (*hanteḥ aṅgasya haḥ*). *Abhyāsa* is defined by P. 6.1.4 and 6.1.1 as the first syllable of a reduplicated verbal base. *Hanteḥ aṅgasya haḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.54. The condition *ñṇitneṣu* from P. 7.3.54 is discontinued on the basis of *Sāmarthya*. P. 7.3.55 covers other cases than P. 7.3.54. The *vidheya* ia (*kU*), continued from P. 7.3.52.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *jighāṃsati* 'he desires to kill' *jaṅghanyate* 'he kills frequently' and *ahaṃ jaghana* 'I have killed.' For the derivation of *jighāṃsati* see *AP* X, p. 42.

The *prakriyā* of *jaṅghanyate* is as follows:

(1)		*han-*				*Dhp.* 2.2
(2)		*han*	+ *yaṄ*			P. 3.1.22
(3)		*han*	+ *ya*		+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123; 3.1.32
(4)		*han*	+ *ya*		+ *ta*	P. 3.4.78
(5)		*han*	+ *ya*	+ *ŚaP*	+ *ta*	P. 3.1.68
(6)		*han*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 3.1.79
(7)	*han*	+ *han*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 6.1.9
(8)	*ha°*	+ *han*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 7.4.60
(9)	*ha-nUK*	+ *han*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 7.4.85
(10)	*jhan*	+ *han*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 7.4.62; 1.1.50
(11)	*jhan*	+ *ghan*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 7.3.55
(12)	*jhan*	+ *ghan*	+ *ya*		+ *te*	P. 6.1.97
(13)	*jhaṃ*	+ *ghan*	+ *ya*		+ *te*	P. 8.3.23
(14)	*jan*	+ *ghan*	+ *ya*		+ *te*	P. 8.4.54
(15)	*jaṅ*	+ *ghan*	+ *ya*		+ *te*	P. 8.4.58

janghanyate.

The *prakriyā* of (*aham*) *jaghana* is as follows:

(2)	*han*	+ *lIṬ*	P. 3.2.115
(3)	*han*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(4)	*han*	+ *ṆaL*	P. 3.4.82

(5)	*han + han + a*	P. 6.1.8
(6)	*ha° + han + a*	P. 7.4.60
(7)	*jha + han + a*	P. 7.4.62
(8)	*jha + ghan + a*	P. 7.3.55
(9)	*ja + ghan + a*	P. 8.4.54
	jaghana.	

P. 7.1.91 prescribes *Ṇittva* as the preferable option for the pf. sg. 1st person. That gives us *jaghāna*. In the non-preferred form *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116 is not applied. The pf. sg. 3rd person could also have been quoted as an example for P. 7.3.55.

4. Quoting Patanjali nearly literally (*Mbh*. III, p. 330, lines 22-23), *KV* says that the suffix which causes the designation *aṅga* for *han*- - reference is to P. 1.4.13 - must also be the cause of the reduplication. Only then P. 7.3.55 becomes applicable. If the causing suffixes are different, the rule is not applied. To show this, the *KV* quotes the example *jihananīyiṣati*, borrowed from Patañjali and derived in the sense of *hananīyitum icchati* 'he desires to wish killing himself.' This is the desiderative of a denominative *KyaC*-formation (P. 3.1.8). The point is that here the suffis *LyuṬ* (P. 3.3.115) is the cause of the designation *aṅga* for *han*-, whereas the desiderative suffix *saN* (P. 3.1.7) is the cause of the reduplication. That is why P. 7.3.55 is not applied in the example.

The derivation of the verbal base stem *hananīyiṣa*- is as follows:

A. (1)	*han*-	*Dhp*. 2.2
(2)	*han + LyuṬ*	P. 3.3.115
(3)	*han + ana*	P. 7.1.1
	hanana.	

B. (1)	(*hanana + am*) + *KyaC*	P. 3.1.8
(2)	(*hanana* + °) + *ya*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*hananī + ya*	P. 7.4.33
	hananīya.	

C. (1)	*hananīya*	*+ saN*	P. 3.1.7
(2)	*han + hananīya*	*+ sa*	P. 6.1.9
(3)	*ha° + hananīya*	*+ sa*	P. 7.4.60
(4)	*jha + hananīya*	*+ sa*	P. 7.4.62
(5)	*jhi + hananīya*	*+ sa*	P. 7.4.79

(6) *jhi* + *hananīya* + *iṬ* + *sa* P. 7.2.35
(7) *jhi* + *hananīy°* + *i* + *sa* P. 6.4.48
(8) *jhi* + *hananīy* + *i* + *ṣa* P. 8.3.59
(9) *ji* + *hananīy* + *i* + *ṣa* P. 8.4.54
jihananīyiṣa.

5. We have one *Vt*. on the rule. It says that *kutva* is applied (to *h* of *han-*) except when a case ending is added. Reference is to the derivation of the denominative base *hananīya-* from *hanana*. See under 4, above, stage B. (1). The example provided by Patañjali is *jihananīyiṣati*, for which see under 4, above. Patañjali rejects the *Vt*. His argument is that P. 7.3.55 is only applied when the suffix causing the *aṅgasaṃjña* and the reduplication is one and the same, as repeated later on by the *KV*.

7.3.56 HER ACAṄI 'a phoneme belonging to the *kU*-class comes) in place of (*h* of the verbal base *aṅga*) *hi-* "to set in motion" (after the reduplication), if (a suffix) other than *CaṄ* follows immediately (after the *aṅga*)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *kU* sound for the *h* of *hi-*, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*abhyāsāt*) *heḥ* (*aṅgasya haḥ*) *acaṅi*. *Abhyāsāt* is continued from P. 7.3.55 as a technical abl. to be interpreted in the sense of *abhyāsāt uttarasya* (*heh*) '(in place of the *h* of *hi-*) which follows directly after the reduplication.' *Heḥ* is the sg. gen. of the verbal base *hi-* taken as a nominal stem. Since *heḥ* is mentioned as coming directly after the reduplication, P. 1.1.54 tells us that the substitution meant is of the initial of *hi-*. *Heḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. It discontinues *hanteḥ* from P. 7.3.54. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Heḥ* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with a supplied *haḥ*, and interpreted in the sense of 'in place of the *h* of *hi*.' *Acaṅi* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. *CaṄ* is the suffix used to form the redupl. aor. by P. 3.1.48. The negation is taken in the sense of *paryudāsa*. The *vidheya* is (*kU*), continued from P.7.3.52.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *prajighīṣati* 'he desires to hurl' *prajeghīyate* 'he hurls frequently' and *prajighāya* 'he has hurled.'

The *prakriyā* of *prajighīṣati* is as follows:

(1) *hi-* *Dhp*. 5.11
(2) *pra* + *hi*

(3)	*pra*	+ *hi*	+ *saN*				P. 3.1.7
(4)	*pra*	+ *hi*	+ *sa*	+ *lAṬ*			P. 3.2.123
(5)	*pra*	+ *hi*	+ *sa*	+ *tiP*			P. 3.4.78
(6)	*pra*	+ *hi*	+ *sa*	+ *ŚaP*	+ *ti*		P. 3.1.68
(7)	*pra* + *hi*	+ *hi*	+ *sa*	+ *a*	+ *ti*		P. 6.1.9
(8)	*pra* + *jhi*	+ *hi*	+ *sa*		+ *ti*		P. 7.4.62
(9)	*pra* + *jhi*	+ *hī*	+ *sa*		+ *ti*		P. 6.4.16
(10)	*pra* + *jhi*	+ *ghī*	+ *sa*		+ *ti*		P. 7.3.56
(11)	*pra* + *jhi*	+ *ghī*	+ *sa*		+ *ti*		P. 6.1.97
(12)	*pra* + *jhi*	+ *ghī*	+ *sa*		+ *ti*		P. 8.3.59
(13)	*pra* + *ji*	+ *ghī*	+ *sa*		+ *ti*		P. 8.4.59
	prajighīsati.						

For the *yaṄ* (intensive) form *prajeghîyate* apply P. 3.1.22 and P. 7.4.82 (for *guṇa* in the reduplication).

The *prakriyā* of the pf. sg. 3rd person *prajighāya* is as follows:

(3)	*pra* + *hi*		+ *lIṬ*	P. 3.2.115
(4)	*pra* + *hi*		+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*pra* + *hi*		+ *ṆaL*	P. 3.4.82
(6)	*pra* + *hi*	+ *hi*	+ *a*	P. 6.1.8
(7)	*pra* + *jhi*	+ *hi*	+ *a*	P. 7.4.62
(8)	*pra* + *jhi*	+ *ghi*	+ *a*	P. 7.3.56
(9)	*pra* + *jhi*	+ *ghai*	+ *a*	P. 7.2.115
(10)	*pra* + *jhi*	+ *ghāy*	+ *a*	P. 6.1.78
(11)	*pra* + *ji*	+ *ghāy*	+ *a*	P. 8.4.54
	prajighāya.			

4. To point out the significance of the condition *acani*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *prājīhayat* 'he caused to hurl.' The *prakriyā* of this caus aor. form is as follows:

(3)	*pra*	+ *hi*	+ *ṆiC*			P. 3.1.26
(4)	*pra*	+ *hi*	+ *i*		+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.2.110
(5)	*pra* + *aṬ*	+ *hi*	+ *i*		+ *lUṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(6)	*pra* + *a*	+ *hi*	+ *i*	+ *ClI*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.1.43
(7)	*pra* + *a*	+ *hi*	+ *i*	+ *CaṄ*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.1.48
(8)	*pra* + *a*	+ *hi*	+ *i*	+ *a*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(9)	*pra* + *a* + *hi*	+ *hi*	+ *i*	+ *a*	+ *ti*	P. 6.1.11

(9)	*pra*	+	*a*	+	*hi*	+	*hai*	+	*i*	+	*a*	+	*ti*	P. 7.2.115
(10)	*pra*	+	*a*	+	*hi*	+	*hāy*	+	*i*	+	*a*	+	*ti*	P. 6.1.78
(11)	*prā*			+	*hi*	+	*hāy*	+	*i*	+	*a*	+	*ti*	P. 6.1.101
(12)	*prā*			+	*jhi*	+	*hāy*	+	*i*	+	*a*	+	*ti*	P. 7.4.62
(13)	*prā*			+	*jhī*	+	*hāy*	+	*i*	+	*a*	+	*ti*	P. 7.4.94
(14)	*prā*			+	*jhī*	+	*hay*	+	*i*	+	*a*	+	*ti*	P. 7.4.1
(15)	*prā*			+	*jhī*	+	*hay*	+	°	+	*a*	+	*ti*	P. 6.4.51
(16)	*prā*			+	*jhī*	+	*hay*			+	*a*	+	*t*°	P. 3.4.100
(17)	*prā*			+	*jī*	+	*hay*			+	*a*	+	*t*	P. 8.4.54
	prājīhayat.													

Since here *CaṄ* does not immediately follow after the verbal base *aṅga hi-* mentioned in the rule, the *h* which comes after the reduplication is not replaced by *gh* by P. 7.3.56.

For some observations regarding the order in which rules have been applied in deriving the forms quoted see the Note at the end of the present rule.

5. Following *Vt*. I on the rule, the *KV* says that we can do away with the condition *acaṅi*. The argument is as follows. We have two *aṅgas*. One is *hi-*, with reference to *ṆiC*, the other is *hi* + *ṆiC*, with reference to *CaṄ*. Here *CaṄ* is both the *nimitta* of reduplication and of the second *aṅga*-designation. But the rule says *heḥ*, and, therefore, is not concerned with *CaṆ* as the cause of the second *aṅga*-designation. Thus it appears that the mention of *acaṅi* is redundant. To make it purposeful, it is assumed to give us a clue. The clue, taken from *Vt*. II on the rule, tells us that *kutva* by P. 7.3.56 is applied to *hi-* even when the suffix *ṆiC* has been added. Thereby we can justify the form *prajighāyayiṣati* 'he desires to cause (somebody) to hurl (something).' This is Patañjali's example for *Vt*. II.

The clue is, in fact, the basis for *PN*, *pbh*. 91. What it means is that a grammatical operation like the substitution of a *ku*-class sound for *h* is prescribed for *hi-*, it also holds good for the verbal base concerned plus *ṆiC*. That is to say, the *gh*-substitution prescribed for *hi-* also applies to the causative base *hāyi-*. That gives us *ghāyi-*. In fact, for the clue and for the *pbh*. are based on only one example, namely, *prajighāyayiṣati*.

The abbreviated *prakriyā* of *prajighāyayiṣati* is as follows:

(1) *pra* + *jhi* + *ghāy* + *ṆiC* + *iṬ* + *saN* + *ŚaP* + *ti* P. 7.2.115; 7.3.56; 7.2.35; 3.1.7; 3.1.68; 3.4.78

(2) *pra* + *jhi* + *ghāy* + *e* + *i* + *sa* + *a* + *ti* P. 7. 3.84
(3) *pra* + *jhi* + *ghāy* + *ay* + *i* + *sa* + *ti* P. 6.1.78; P. 6.1.97
(4) *pra* + *jhi* + *ghāy* + *ay* + *i* + *ṣa* + *ti* P. 8.3.59
(5) *pra* + *ji* + *ghāy* + *ay* + *i* + *ṣa* + *ti* P. 8.4.54
prajighāyayiṣati.

Here, once we accept that *hi-* equals *hāyi* by *PN, pbh*. 91, we can say that both the designation *aṅga* for the causative base *hāyi-* and the reduplication are caused by one and the same suffix, namely, *saN*. Therefore P. 7.3.56 becomes applicable. To prevent its application in the caus. aor., the word *acaṅi* is stated in the rule.

6. We have two *Vts* on the rule, for which see under 5. above.

NOTE on the rule application order for verb forms, especially reduplicated verb forms.

(1) We will first replace the *upadeśa* elements by actual language elements, as required by the *padasaṃskārapakṣa*.

(2) As a general principle, word-building rules, that is, reduplication rules and augment rules, take precedence over substitution rules. One exception is formed by *saṃprasāraṇa* rules which take precedence over reduplication rules, because they are environment changing rules. Consequently, in the case of *saṃprasāraṇa*, reduplication rules are not applied until the verbal base has assumed its final form. See the example *jijyatus* quoted under P. 7.3.58.

(3) The *pbh. dvirvacane aci* (P. 1.1.59) tells us that the substitute of a vowel occuring immediately before a suffix which begins with a vowel and which is the cause of the reduplication is *sthānivat* 'treated like the original (vowel),' when reduplication is to take place.' In *pra+ hi* + *ṆiC* + *CaṄ* + *lUṄ* the suffix *CaṄ* begins with a vowel, and is the cause of the reduplication, but does not occuur immediately after *aṅga hi-* because *ṆiC* intervenes. Therefore in deriving *prājîhayat* we cannot apply P. 1.1.59, and we will simply assume that at the time of reduplication the original verbal base vowel is still *i*.

(4) The *KV* on P. 7.4.80 - there is no *bhāṣya* on this rule - phrases a *jñapaka* as follows: *advirvacananimitte 'pi ṇau sthānivad bhavati* 'although (the suffix) *ṆiC* is not the cause of reduplication, (still, the reduplication) is treated like the original.' The *Nyāsa* on P. 7.3.56 briefly refers to this by saying *ṇau kṛtaṃ sthānivad bhavati*

'what has been caused when *Ṇi* follows is treated like the original.' The *SK*, No. 2573, on P. 7.4.79, under verbal base no. 1889, *ūna parihāne*, says *ṇicy aca ādeśo na syād dvitve kārye* 'when reduplication is to be applied, substitution of (the verbal base) vowel should not be (allowed), if (the suffix) *ṆiC* follows immediately.' It all comes to the same, namely, that the reduplication takes the form of the original verbal base, if a suffix beginning with a vowel which is not a cause of reduplication folllows immediately after the verbal base.

7.3.57 SANLIṬOR JEḤ '(a phoneme belonging to the *kU*-class comes) in place of (*j* of the verbal base *aṅga*) *ji*- "to conquer," (after the reduplication,) if (the suffix) *saN* or *lIṬ* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *kU*-class sound for the *j* of *ji*- on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*abhyāsāt*) *jeḥ* (*aṅgasya*) *sanliṭoḥ*. Here *abhyāsāt* is continued from P. 7.3.55. It is a technical abl. by P. 1.1.67, to be interpreted in the sense of *abhyāsāt uttarasya* (*jeḥ*) '(in place of *ji*-) which follows directly after the reduplication.' *Jeḥ* is the sg. gen. of the verbal base *ji*- taken as a nominal stem. Since *jeḥ* is mentioned as coming directly after the *abhyāsa*, P. 1.1.54 tells us that the substitution meant is of the initial of *ji*. *Jeḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. The word *aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1, is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *cajoḥ*, continued from P. 7.3.52. As is clear, P. 7.3.57 deals with *j* only. *Sanliṭoḥ* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.67. *SaN* is the suffix which forms the desiderative by P. 3.1.7. *LIṬ* is that *lakāra* of the pf. endings by P. 3.2.115. The *vidheya* is (*kU*), continued from P. 7.3.52.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *saN*: *jigīṣati* 'he desires to conquer'

(b) For *lIṬ*: *jigāya* 'he has conquered.'

The *prakriyā* of *jigīṣati* is as follows:

(1)	*ji*-	*Dhp*. 1.994
(2)	*ji* + *saN*	P. 3.1.7
(3)	*ji* + *sa* + *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(4)	*ji* + *sa* + *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*ji* + *sa* + *ŚaP* + *ti*	P. 3.1.68

(6) *ji* + *ji* + *sa* + *a* + *ti*	P. 6.1.9
(7) *ji* + *jī* + *sa* + *a* + *ti*	P. 6.4.16
(8) *ji* + *gī* + *sa* + *a* + *ti*	P. 7.3.57
(9) *ji* + *gī* + *sa* + *ti*	P. 6.1.97
(10) *ji* + *gī* + *ṣa* + *ti*	P. 8.3.59
jigīṣati.	

The *prakriyā* of *jigāya* is as follows:

(1) *ji* + *lIṬ*	P. 3.2.115
(2) *ji* + *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(3) *ji* + *ṆaL*	P. 3.4.82
(4) *ji* + *ji* + *a*	P. 6.1.8
(5) *ji* + *gi* + *a*	P. 7.3.57
(6) *ji* + *gai* + *a*	P. 7.2.115
(7) *ji* + *gāy* + *a*	P. 6.1.78
jigāya.	

4. To point out the significance of the condition *sanliṭoḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *jejīyate* 'he conquers frequently.' Here the frequentative suffix *yaṄ* is added by P. 3.1.22. Therefore *kutva* by P. 7.3.57 is not allowed. For the derivation compare the one given for *jaṅghanyate* in connection with P. 7.3.55, under 3.

5. We have a verbal base *jyā-* (*Dhp*. 9.29) 'to overpower,' which may be quoted as *jināti* by *Vt*. II on P. 3.3.108. When *saṃprasāraṇa* is applied to *jyā* by P. 6.1.16, the result is *ji*. Following Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on the present rule, the *KV* points out that here *kutva* is not applied by P. 7.3.57, because the *ji*-form is *lākṣaṇika* 'resulting from the application of a rule.' It is not *pratipadokta* 'specifically stated as such,' namely, in the *Dhp*. See *PN*, *pbh*. 105. The examples borrowed from Patañjali and quoted by the *KV* are *jijyatuḥ* 'the two of them have overpowered' and *jijyuḥ* 'they have overpowered.'

The *prakriyā* of *jijyatus* is as follows:

(1)	*jya-*	*Dhp*. 9.2.9
(2)	*jyā* + *lIṬ*	P. 3.2.115
(3)	*jyā* + *tas*	P. 3.4.78
(4)	*jyā* + *atus*	P. 3.4.82
(5)	*jiā* + *atus*	P. 6.1.16

(6) *ji°* + *atus* P. 6.1.108
(7) *ji* + *ji* + *atus* P. 6.1.8
(8) *ji* + *jy* + *atus* P. 6.1.77
jijyatus.

Similarly for *jijyus.*

From the example it is clear that *saṃprasāraṇa* prevails over reduplication. *Saṃprasāraṇa* is an environment changing rule. It prevails by the *siddha*-principle. See *AP* I, p. 97-98; *AP* II, Introduction, p. vi-xi. Consequently, reduplication is only applied after the verbal base has assumed its final form.

6. We have one *Vt.* on the rule. It says that when *ji* is mentioned *jyā* is excluded. Patañjali rejects the *Vt.* by referring to the *pbh.* mentioned under 5, above.

7.3.58 VIBHĀṢĀ CEḤ 'as the non-preferred option (a phoneme belonging to the *kU*-class comes) in place of (*c* of the verbal base *aṅga*) *ci-* "to pile up" (after the reduplication, if the suffix *saN* or *lIṬ* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *ku*-class sound for the *c* of *ci-* (*ciÑ-*, *Dhp.* 5.5) as the non-preferred option, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*abhyāsāt*) *ceḥ* (*aṅgasya sanliṭoḥ*). Here *abhyāsāt* is continued from P. 7.3.55. It is a technical abl. to be interpreted in the sense of *abhyāsāt uttarasya* (*ceḥ*) '(in place of *ci-*) which follows directly after the reduplication.' *Ceḥ* is the sg. gen. of the verbal base *ci-* taken as a nominal stem. . Since *ceḥ* is mentioned as coming directly after the *abhyāsa*, P: 1.1.54 tells us that the substitution meant is of the initial of *ci-*. *Ceḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*, which is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *cajoḥ*, continued from P. 7.3.52. As is clear, P. 7.3.58 deals with *c* only. *Sanliṭoḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.57. The *vidheya* is *vibhāṣā* (*kU*). For the meaning assigned to *vibhāṣā* see Kiparsky 1979, p. 1, 55. *KU* is continued from P. 7.3.52.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *saN*: *cicīṣati/cikīṣati* 'he desires to pile up'

(b) For *lIṬ*: *cicāya/cikāya* 'he has piled up'

For the derivation of the (a) forms compare that of *prajighīṣati* mentioned under P. 7.3.56. For the derivation of the (b) forms compare that of *prajighāya* under the same rule.

4. To point out the significance of the continued word *sanliṭoḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *cecīyate* 'he piles up repeatedly.' The derivation is as follows:

(1)	*ciÑ-*					*Dhp.* 5.5
(2)		*ci*	+ *yaṄ*			P. 3.1.7
(3)		*ci*	+ *ya*		+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(4)		*ci*	+ *ya*		+ *ta*	P. 1.3.72; 3.4.78
(5)		*ci*	+ *ya*	+ *ŚaP*	+ *ta*	P. 3.1.68
(6)		*ci*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 3.4.79
(7)	*ci* +	*ci*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 6.1.9
(8)	*ce* +	*ci*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 7.4.82
(9)	*ce* +	*cī*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 7.4.25
(10)	*ce* +	*cī*	+ *ya*		+ *te*	P. 6.1.97
	cecīyate.					

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.59 NA KVĀDEḤ '(a phoneme belonging to the *kU*-class does) not (come) in place of (*c* or *j* of a verbal base *aṅga*) beginning with a *kU*-class phoneme'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting the substitution of a *kU*-class sound for *c* or *j* of a verbal base, on the conditions stated. In fact, P. 7.3.59 prohibits *kutva* applicable by P. 7.3.52.

2. The *uddeśya* is *kvādeḥ* (*aṅgasya cajoḥ ghiṇṇatyoḥ*). *Kvādeḥ* is a *bv.* cp. qualifying *aṅgasya*. For the rest of the *uddeśya* see P. 7.2.52, under 2. The *vidheya* is *na* (*ku*). *Na* cancels *vibhāṣā* from P. 7.3.58. See *FANU*, p. 273, convention 30. *KU* is continued from P. 7.3.52.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *kūjo vartate* 'cooing takes place,' *kharja* 'creaking,' *garja* 'roaring,' *kūjyaṃ bhavatā* 'it is to be cooed by you, sir,' *sarjyaṃ garjyaṃ bhavatā* 'it is to be earned, to be roared by you, sir.'

Kūj- (*Dhp.* 1.240) is mentioned in the sense of 'producing an indistinct sound.' *Kūja* is a *bhāve GHaÑ* derivation by P. 3.3.18. *Kūjya* is a *ṆyaT*-derivation

by P. 3.1.124. *ṆyaT* is a *kṛtya* suffix conveying the sense of *bhāva* or *karman* by P. 3.4.70. *Kharj-* (*Dhp* 1.246) is mentioned in the sense of 'disturbing.' *Garj-* (*Dhp*. 1.244) is mentioned in the sense of 'producing a sound.' *Sarj-* (*Dhp*. 1.243) is mentioned in the sense of 'acquiring.' The instrumental case ending in *bhavatā* in the sense of *kartṛ* is by P. 2.3.18. In the examples the substitution of *g* for *j* by P. 7.3.52 is prohibited by P. 7.3.59.

4. We have three *Vts* on the rule. *Vt*. I is a bold attempt to improve on Pāṇini's rule phrasings. It says that the prohibition of the verbal bases noted as *kvādi-*. *aji-*, *vraji-*, *yāci-*, and *ruci-* is redundant on the strength of a prescription of *kutva* for *aniṬ* verbal base before a *niṣṭhā* suffix. Here *kvādi* refers to P. 7.3.59. *aji* and *vraji* to P. 7.3.60, and *yāci* and *ruci* to P. 7.3.66. The idea of the *Vārttikakāra* is that P. 7.3.59 and 60 and the mention of *yāci* and *ruci* in P. 7.3.66 can be taken care of by one rule to be phrased as *niṣṭhāyām aniṭaḥ kutvam* 'the substitution of a *kU*-class phoneme (takes place) of (verbal bases which are) *aniṬ* before (a) *niṣṭhā* (suffix).' The point is that *kūj-*, *garj-* and *kharj-* quoted as examples for P. 7.3.59, *aj-* and *vṛj-*, stated as P. 7.3.60, and *yāc-* and *ruc-*,mentioned in P. 7.3.66, are *seṬ* bases before a *niṣṭhā* suffix. But if the new phrasing is accepted, then how to justify the forms *śoka* 'affliction' and *samudga* 'a round box' (?), mentioned by Patañjali?

That question is answered by *Vt* II. It says that *kutva* takes place for the verbal base *aṅgas śuc-* 'to feel pain' (*Dhp*. 1.198 and *ubj-* 'to make straight' (*Dhp*. 6.20). Thus we derive *śoka* as a *bhāve GHaÑ*-derivation by P. 3.3.18. *Guṇa* is by P. 7.3.84, and *kutva* by *Vt*. II. To justify *samudga*, the *Vārttikakāra* assumes a verbal base *udj-* which is equalled with *ubj-*. From *ubj-* we derive the form *nyubja* 'heat, pain' by way of *nipātana* by P. 7.3.61. Thus *samudga* is justified also as a *bhāve GhaÑ*-derivation by P. 3.3.18 and *Vt*. II. The two verbal bases here are *seṬ* before a *niṣṭhā* suffix. Therefore they cannot come under *Vt*. I. A special statement for *kutva* is required. That statement is *Vt*. II.

But even then we have a difficulty in the form *arka* 'praise', mentioned by Patañjali. *Vt*. III says that we can manage on account of the prescription of (the *uṇādika* suffix) *ka* after (the verbal base quoted as) *arci* 'to praise.' Reference is to *uṇādisūtra SK*, No. 327. The *sūtra* should be emended to read *kr-dā-dhārci- kalibhyaḥ kaḥ*. *Arc-* is a *seṬ* base before a *niṣṭhā* suffix. Accordingly, we cannot justify *kutva* in the *bhāve GhaÑ*-derivation *arka* by *Vt*. I. The derivation of *arka* as assumed by the *Vārttikakāra* is as follows:

(1) *arc-*	*Dhp*. 1.219
(2) *arc* + *ka*	*uṇādisūtra* No. 327

(3) *ark* + *ka* P. 8.2.30
(4) *ar°* + *ka* P. 8.4.65 (*anyatarasyām*, P. 8.4.65)
arka.

7.3.60 AJI-VṚJYOŚ CA 'also (a phoneme belonging to the *kU*-class does not come in place of *c* or *j* of the verbal base *aṅgas*) *aj*- "to wander" and *vṛj*- "to go," (if a suffix marked with *GH* or the suffix *ṆyaT* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting the substitution of a *kU*-class sound for *c* or *j* of two specifically stated verbal bases, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *ajivṛyoḥ* (*aṅgayoḥ cajoḥ ghiṇṇatyoḥ*). *Ajivṛjyoḥ* is a du. gen. and stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgayoḥ*. The two verbal bases appear in their quotation form by *Vt*. II on P. 3.3.108. *Ajivṛjyoḥ* discontinues *kvādeḥ* from P. 7.3.59. *Aṅgayoḥ* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *cajoḥ*, which is a technical du. gen. by P. 1.1.49. The present rule deals with *j* only. See further P. 7.3.52, under 2. The *vidheya* is (*na ku*), where *na* is continued from P. 7.3.59 and *kU* from P. 7.3.52.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *aj*-: *samāja* 'assembly' and *udāja* 'leading out'

(b) For *vraj*: *parivrāja* 'wandering' and *parivrājya* 'to be wandered'

Samāja and *parivrāja* are *bhāve GhaÑ*-derivations by P. 3.3.18 *Vṛddhi* of the verbal base vowel is by P. 7.2.116. P. 3.3.69 prescribes the suffix *aP* for *sam* + *aj*- to form *samaja* when mention is of cattle. One example quoted by the *KV* is *samajaḥ paśūnām* 'a herd of cattle.' *Parivrājya* is a *ṆyaT* formation by P. 3.1.124. *Vṛddhi* of the verbal base vowel is by P. 7.2.116.

4. The *KV* notes that for *aj*- we have no example for a *ṆyaT*-formation. The reason is that by P. 2.4.56 *aj*- is replaced by *vī*- before any other *ārdhadhātuka* suffix than *GHaÑ* or *aP*. After *vī*- *ṆyaT* cannot be added because *vī*- does not end in the vowel *ṛ* or in a consonant. But *yaṬ* can be added by P. 3.1.97, resulting in the form *veya* 'to be wandered.' *Guṇa* is by P. 7.3.84.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.61 BHUJA-NYUBJAU PĀṆY-UPATĀPAYOḤ *'bhuja* and *nyubja* (are *nipātanas* "ready-made words") in the sense of "arm" and "a disease of the spine" (respectively)'

1. This is a *nipātanasūtra*, mentioning two ready-made words in a particular sense, in which *kutva* by P. 7.3.52 is not applied.

2. *Nipātanasūtras* have no regular *uddeśyavidheyabhāva*. A contextual explanation is required. The present context is formed by the prohibition of *kutva* for *c* or *j* of a verbal base *aṅga* by P. 7.3.59, if a suffix marked with *GH* or if the suffix *ṆyaT* follows immediately. The verbal base *aṅgas* involved are *bhuj-* 'to bend' (*Dhp.* 1.1047) and *ubj-* 'to make straight' (*Dhp.* 6.20; is also mentioned as *udj-*; in which case we must assume that *d* is replaced by *b* on account of *nipātana*). For *ubj-* compare P. 7.3.59, under 4 (*Vt.* II). *Pāṅyupatāpayoḥ* is a loc. meaning-condition. The *KV* explains that *upatāpa* means *roga* 'disease.' Given the numerical equality of items in the two sets mentioned a one-to-one correspondence is established between them by P. 1.3.10.

3. Both *bhuja* and *nyubja* are *bhāve GHaÑ*-derivations by P. 3.3.121 in the sense of *karaṇa* 'means' or *adhikaraṇa* 'location.' The *KV* explains that *guṇa* of the verbal base vowel (by P. 7.3.86) is not applied on account of *nipātana*. That goes for *bhuj-* only. In *ubj- guṇa* is not applied, because the verbal base vowel is *gurūpadhā*. The *KV*, following Patañjali, also explains *nyubja* as *nyubjitāḥ śerate asmin* 'in that (disease people) lie upside down.'

Referring to *Vt.* II on the rule and Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on that, the *Pada-mañjari* says that we can do without the mention of *nyubja* and *upatāpa*. *Nyubja* can be explained as that disease which causes people to lie upside down, and, as far as its formation is concerned, as an agentive *pacyādi aC*-formation by P. 3.1.134. The *Padamañjari* then explains that there is no difference in accent between the *GHaÑ*-derivation and the *aC*-derivation.

4. To point out the significance of the word *pāṇyupatāpayoḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *bhoga* 'coil (of a snake)' and *samudga* 'a round box' (?). In *bhoga kutva* is applied by P. 7.3.52 and *guṇa* by P. 7.3.86. For *samudga* see P. 7.3.59, under 4 (*Vt.* II).

5. We have two *Vts* on the rule. *Vt.* I says (that) *bhuja* in the sense of *pāṇi* 'arm' (is a *nipātana*). *Nyubja* in the sense of 'disease' is not mentioned.

Vt. II says that the prohibition (by P. 7.3.61) of *kutva* for *nyubja* is redundant because *nyubja* is a derivation of the verbal base quoted as *nyubjI-* in the sense of agent. Patañjali explains that *nyubja* does not end in *GHaÑ*, but conveys an agentive sense. Reference is to the suffix *aC* by P. 3.1.134. *AC* is not *GHit*, so the question of applying *kutva* does not arise. The objection is raised that in *nyubja* the suffix *GHaÑ* is added in the sense of *adhikaraṇa* 'location,' by P. 3.3.121, because we have the usage *nyubjitāḥ śerate asmin*. See under 3, above. Once the *GHaÑ*-derivation is assumed, *kutva* must be assumed too. To prevent *kutva*, a prohibition is required. Patañjali counters the objection by saying that *nyubja* in the sense of 'disease' can be derived from the causative form *nyubjayati* 'it causes (people) to lie upside down' in the agentive sense Technically this form appears as *nyubj* + *ṆiC* + *aC*. Here *ṆiC* is deleted by P. 6.4.51. Since *GhaÑ* is not added, we need not bother about *kutva*. Therefore the mention of *nyubja* in P. 7.3.61 is not required.

7.3.62 PRAYĀJA-ANUYĀJAU YAJÑĀṄGE '*prayāja* "initial oblation" and *anuyāja* "subsequent oblation" (are *nipātanas* "ready-made words"), if the sense of a part of a sacrifice is conveyed'

1. This is a *nipātanasūtra* mentioning two ready-made words in which *kutva* by P. 7.3.52 is not applied, on the condition stated.

2. For the absence of a regular *uddeśyavidheyabhāva* and the necessary contextual interpretation see P. 7.3.61, under 2. In the present rule the verbal base *aṅga* involved is *yaj-* (*Dhp*. 1.1051). *Prayāja* and *anuyāja* are *bhāve GHaÑ*-derivations by P. 3.3.19, and therefore *GHit*. *Prayājānuyājau* cancels *bhujanyubjau* from P. 7.3.61. For sacrificial details see *The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittirīya Saṃhitā*. Translated by A.B. Keith. *Harvard Oriental Series*. Vol. I8, p. 205, ff., for *prayāja*, and p. 215, ff., for *anuyāja*. Compare Agrawala ²1963, p. 379.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *pañca prayajāḥ* 'five *prayājas* (*Āśv. Śr. Sū*.1.4.2), *pañca anuyajāḥ* 'five *anuyājas*' (source unidentified) and *tvam agne prayājānāṃ paścāt tvaṃ purastāt* 'o Agni, you come after the *prayājas* (and) you come in front' (source unidentified). The *Padamañjari* mentions other numbers than five for the oblations.

4. To point out the significance of the word *yajāṅge* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *prayāga* 'a place name' and *anuyāga* (meaning uncertain). Here *kutva* is applied.

5. The *KV* then says that the mention of *prayāja* and *anuyāja* is only meant to provide an illustration. Elsewhere also, for words of the same type the prohibition of *kutva* holds good. The examples quoted are *ekādaśa upayājāḥ* 'eleven *upayājas,*' *upāṃśuyājam antarā yajati* 'he sacrifices in between the *upāṃśuyāja,*' *astau patnīsaṃyājāḥ* 'eight *patnīsaṃyājas*' and *ekādaśa ṛtuyājāḥ* 'eleven seasonal sacrifices.' By *patnīsaṃyāja* 'offering to the wives (of the deities)' four successive offerings of *ājya* are meant, to Soma, Tvastṛ, the wives of the gods, and to Agni Gṛhapati. See Chitrabhanu Sen, *A Dictionary of Vedic Rituals*. Published by Naurang Rai. Concept Publishing Company. Anand Nagar. Delhi 1976, s.v., and *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*. Translated by C. G. Kashikar. Published by I.G.N.C.A. Delhi 2001, *sūtras* 1.20 and 3.19. For a reference see also Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 379, n. 2.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.63 VANCER GATAU '(a phoneme of the *kU*-class does not come in place of the *c*) of (the verbal base *aṅga*) *vanc-* in the sense of "to move (in a crooked way,")'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting the substitution of a *kU*-class sound for the *c* of *vanc-*, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *vanceḥ* (*aṇgasya cajoḥ*) *gatau* (*ghiṇṇyatoḥ*). *VancI-* is the quotation form (by *Vt*. II on P. 3.3.108) of the verbal base mentioned as *vancU-* in the *Dhp*. (1.204). It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. The word *aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *cajoḥ* continued from P. 7.3.52. *Cajoḥ* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. The present rule deals with *c* only. *Gatau* is a loc. meaning condition. stated in the manner practised in the *Dhp*. The *vidheya* is (*ku na*), where *kU* is continued from P. 7.3.52, and *na* from P. 7.3.59.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *vañcyam* 'to be moved (in a crooked way),' and *vañcanti vaṇijaḥ* 'merchants move (in a crooked, deceitful way).' *Ṅ* is replaced by *ñ* by P. 8.4.40. *Kutva*, applicable by P. 7.3.52, is not applied.

4. To point out the significance of the meaning condition *gatau*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *vaṅkam*, explained as *kuṭila* 'warped', and said of *kāṣṭha* 'wood.' The *prakriyā* of the counterexample is as follows:

(1) *vancU-*	*Dhp*. 1.204
(2) *vanc* + *GHaÑ*	P. 3.3.18
(3) *vank* + *a*	P. 7.3.52
(4) *vaṃk* + *a*	P. 8.3.24

(5) *vaṅk* + *a* P. 8.4.58
vaṅka.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.64 OKA UCAḤ KE '*oka* "house; name of a bird" (is a *nipātana* "ready-made word"). (It is formed) when (the suffix) *ka* follows immediately after (the verbal base *aṅga*) *uc-* "to meet together"'

1. This is a curious *nipātanasūtra*. It mentions both a ready-made word and its etymological explanation.

2. Usually, a *nipātana* rule does not mention a derivation of the form concerned. But P. 7.3.64 does. *Ucaḥ ke* looks like a comment added. Taken as a whole, the construction of the rule is awkward. The *KV* puts it as *ucer dhātoḥ ke pratyaye okaḥ iti nipātyate* 'if the suffix *Ka* follows after the verbal base (quoted as) *ucI-*, the word *okaḥ* is formed as a *nipātana*.' This is what the translation of the rule given above amounts to.

The verbal base *aṅga* involved is *uc-*, mentioned in the *Dhp.* (4.114) as *ucA samavāye* '*uc-* in the sense of meeting together.' How to make sense of *ucaḥ*? There are two possibilities. It can be taken as a sg. abl. in a technical sense by P. 1.1.67, as *ucaḥ* (*aṅgāt uttare*) *ke* 'if *ka* follows immediately after the *aṅga uc*.' This is assumed by the *KV*. *Ucah* can also be taken as a sg. gen. in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with the supplied word *aṅgasya*. In that case, the contextually expanded translation of the rule as a whole is '(*kutva* comes in place of the *c*) of *uc-*, when *Ka* follows immediately '

Ucaḥ cancels *vanceḥ* from P. 7.3.63. *Ka* is the suffix introduced by P. 3.1.135 in the sense of agent. *Ke* is taken as a technical loc. condition by P. 1.1.66.

Why *nipātana*? In *oka kutva* has been applied by *nipātana*, against the context which deals with *kutva-pratiṣedha*. In fact, P. 7.3.64 is the only rule in the sequence P. 7.3.59-69 for *kutva* by way of *nipātana*. The other rules prohibit *kutva*. Therefore it seems likely that P. 7.3.64 is a rule inserted at a later date. Moreover, although *Ka* is *Kit*, *guṇa* is applied, against P. 1.1.5. We note that the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* omits the rule altogether.

3. The example quoted by the *KV* is *nyoka*, for which the *KV* mentions two meanings, *śakunta* 'bird' and *gṛham* 'house.' Here *oka* is combined with the

preverb *ni*. According to Monier Williams's Dictionary, p. 573, col. 1, *nyoka* probably means *nyokas* 'domestic,' an adj. attested in the Ṛgveda and in Brāhmaṇa literature.

4. As stated by the *KV*, *nyoka* can be derived in two ways, as follows:

A. (1)	*uc-*	*Dhp.* 4.114
(2)	*ni + uc*	
(3)	*ni + uc + Ka*	P. 3.1.135
(4)	*ny + uc + a*	P. 6.1.77
(5)	*ny + ok + a*	*nipātana*, P. 7.3.64
	nyoka.	
B. (3)	*ni + uc + Ka*	*Vt.* IV on P.3.3.58 (*Ka* is prescribed in the sense of *GHaÑ*. The latter suffix is prescribed by P.3.3.19 in any other sense than *kartṛ*, when the question is of a name)
(4)	*ny+ uc + a*	P. 6.1.77
(5)	*ny+ ok + a*	*nipātana*, P. 7.3.64
	nyoka.	

5. Why two *prakriyās*? One reason is the difference in meaning attributed to *Ka*. In A this meaning is that of agent, whereas in B it is that of *adhikaraṇa* 'location.' The agent meaning derives *nyoka* in the sense of bird, the *adhikaraṇa* meaning derives it in the sense of house, dwelling place. The other reason, which is stated by the *KV*, is the difference in accent. The A derivation is *antodātta* by P. 3.1.3. If derived with the help of *GHaÑ*, the accent will be *ādyudātta* by P. 6.1.197.

6. The *KV* then mentions the *bv.* cps *divaukasaḥ* 'ones residing in heaven, deities' (*dyauḥ okas yeṣām*) and *jalaukasaḥ* 'ones residing in the water, aquatic animals.' (*jalam okas yeṣām*). The cps are formed by P. 2.2.24. The *KV* notes that in *okas* the suffix *asUN* is added by *uṇādisūtra SK*, No. 638. *Vṛddhi* is by P. 6.1.88. The application of *kutva* in the two words is justified by the word *bahulam* 'variously, irregularly' in P. 3.3.1.

7. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.65 ṆYA ĀVAŚYAKE '(a phoneme of the *kU*-class does not come in place of *c* or *j* of a verbal base *aṅga*), if *Ṇya*(*T*) conveying the sense of necessity follows immediately'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting *kutva* for *c* or *j* of any verbal base before the suffix *ṆyaT* on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya cajoḥ*) *ṅye āvaśyake*. The word *aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1, and itself unqualified, is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *cajoḥ*. The word *cajoḥ*, continued from P. 7.3.52, is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. *Ṇye* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. It cancels *ke* from P. 6.4.64. According to P. 3.3.171, the suffix *ṆyaT*, being a *kṛtya* suffix, may be added in the sense of necessity. *Āvaśyake* is a loc. meaning condition stated by P. 3.3.170, valid in P. 3.3.171 also. The *vidheya* is (*ku na*) where *kU* is continued from P. 7.3.52, and *na* from P. 7.3.59.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *avaśyapācyam* 'what must be cooked,' *avaśyavācyam* 'what must be said' and *avaśyarecyam* 'what must be emptied.' As stated by the *Nyāsa*, cp.-formation is by P. 2.1.72. The *prakriyā* of *avaśyapācyam* is as follows:

(1)	((*avaśyam* + *pac*) + *ṆyaT*)) + *sU*	P. 2.1.72; 3.1.124
(2)	((*avaśya°* + *pac*) + *ya*)) + *s*	*Vt*. III on P. 6.1.144
(3)	(*avaśyapāc*) + *ya*) + *s*	P. 7.2.116
(4)	*avaśyapācya* + *am*	P. 7.1.24
(5)	*avaśyapācyam*	P. 6.1.107
	avaśyapācyam	

4. To point out the significance of the word *āvaśyake* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *pākyam* 'what can be cooked,' *vākyam* 'what can be spoken, i.e., a sentence' and *rekyam* 'what can be emptied.' Here the notion of necessity is lacking. For the difference between *vākya* and *vācya* see also P. 7.3.67.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.66 YAJA-YĀCA-RUCA-PRAVACA-ṚCAŚ CA 'also (a phoneme of the *kU*-class does not come in place of (*c* or *j* of the verbal base *aṅgas*) *yaj*- "to sacrifice," *yāc*- "to request," *ruc*- "to shine; to be pleased" (1.781) *pravac*- "to proclaim" and *ṛc*- "to praise," (if the suffix *ṆyaT* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting the substitution of a *kU* sound for the *c* or *j* of five specifically mentioned verbal bases, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *yajayācarucapravacarcaḥ* (*aṅgānāṃ cajoḥ ṇye*). The verbal bases, with the exception of *yāc*-, are mentioned in the form in which they have been stated in the *Dhp*. (*yajA*-, *Dhp*. 1.1051; *yācA*- (*ḌUyācṚ*, *Dhp*. 1.916), *rucA*- (*Dhp*. 1.781), (*pra*)*vacA*- (*Dhp*. 2.54) and *ṛcA*- (*Dhp*. 6.19). The added *A* in the *Dhp*. serves as an indicator (*udāttet* or *anudāttet*) for *ātm*. or *par*. endings (P. 1.3.12; 1.3.78), but in the *sūtrapāṭha* a vowel may be added to a verbal base in an enumeration of bases for ease of pronunciation (*uccāraṇārtham*) only. *Yaja...rcaḥ* is a simple enumeration of verbal bases in which the construction with *aṅgānām* is to be assumed as a *samāhāradvandva* ending in a gen. *Angānām*, continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1, is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *cajoḥ*. The word *cajoḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.52. *Ṇye* is continued from P. 7.3.65. *Āvaśyake* from the same rule is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. Since P. 7.3.65 is a general rule prohibiting *kutva* for any verbal base before *ṆyaT* on the condition *āvaśyake*, P. 7.3.66 can only make sense, if that condition is dropped. The *vidheya* is (*ku na*) where *kU* is continued from P. 7.3.52, and *na* from P. 7.3.59.

The word *ca* functions as a rule boundary marker. See *FANU*, p. 36, 232.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *yaj*-: *yājyam* 'what is to be offered in sacrificial ritual' *Vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116

(b) For *yāc*-: *yācyam* 'what is to be requested'

(c) For *ruc*-: *rocyam* 'what is to be liked' *Guṇa* by P. 7.3.86.

(d) For *pravac*-: *pravācyam* 'what is to be proclaimed' *Vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116

(e) For *ṛc*-: *arcyam* 'what is to be praised' *Guṇa* by P. 7.3.86

The *KV* notes a difficulty in the mention of *ṛc-*. P. 3.1.110 prescribes the suffix *KyaP* after verbal bases containing short *ṛ* as the prefinal vowel. Here the *anubandha* K prohibits *guṇa* by P. 1.1.5. The prescription of *KyaP* appears to exclude *ṆyaT* prescribed by P. 7.3.66. The solution offered by the *KV* is that, on account of *ṛc-* as a *nipātana* in this rule, we have to accept *ṆyaT*, otherwise P. 7.3.66 would be redundant.

4. Why *pra* in *pravac-*? The *KV* says that this is for the sake of a *śabdasaṃjnā* 'technical term referring to (a unit of) speech.' The form *pravācya* is the name of a particular genre of texts. It could be dealing with modes of recitation like the different *pāṭhas* of a Vedic text, like *padapāṭha, kramapāṭha*, etc., or perhaps to a text dealing with different word classes, like *nāman, ākhyāta, nipāta*. Here *kutva* is prohibited by P. 7.3.66, whereas in *vākya* 'sentence', which is a unit of speech, it is allowed. Compare P. 7.3.65, under 4.

The *KV* then refers to a different opinion which goes back to *Vt*. II on the rule. According to this opinion, *pra* has been mentioned for the sake of a *niyama* 'restriction.' It means *pra eva* 'only (when *vac-* is preceded by) *pra*.' In its explanation the *KV* almost literally quotes from Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on *Vt*. I on P. 7.3.66, which says *prapūrvasyaiva vacer aśabdasaṃjñāyāṃ pratiṣedho yathā syāt. Iha mā bhūt Avivākyam iti* 'so that we have a prohibition (of *kutva*) for *vac-* preceded by *pra* only, in a sense other than that of a *śabdasaṃjnā*, (and so that the prohibition) does not apply here, in *avivākyam*.' The *KV* adds that *kutva* is not prohibited when an *upasarga* other than *pra* is used for *vac-*. The usage quoted by way of example is *avivākyam ahaḥ* 'the day on which discussions must not take place.' As explained by the *Nyāsa*, reference is to the tenth day of the *daśarātra* (Soma) sacrifice during which the performers of the ritual are supposed not to discuss anything. In *avivākya* the verbal base *vac-* is preceded by *vi*. Therefore *kutva* (by P. 7.3.52) is allowed. Otherwise, that is, if the meaning conveyed is not specifically that of the tenth day of a *daśarātra* sacrifice, we will have the form *avivācya* only, like in *avivācyam ahaḥ* 'a day which is not to be disputed.'

But why assume a *niyama* at all? We have P. 6.3.67 which prohibits *kutva* for *vac-*, if any other sense than that of *śabdasaṃjnā* is conveyed. Since we have this rule, what is the point in stating the same by P. 7.3.66? This rule appears to be redundant. It is precisely to make it purposeful that recourse is had to *niyama*. Thus P. 7.3.66 is interpreted to mean that *kutva* is prohibited for *vac-*, if preceded by *pra* only.

5. The *KV* finally quotes *Vt*. III on the rule, with the example. See below.

6. We have three *Vts* on the rule. *Vt.* I says that the mention of the verbal base quoted as *pravacI-* is redundant because for *vac-* we have the restriction *aśabdasaṃjnā* (by P. 7.3.67).

Vt. II is an *iti ced Vt.* It says that, if we assume that *pra* in *pravac-* has been mentioned for the sake of a *niyama,* then we can manage on the strength of the special statement of *avivākya,* which is used in the expression *avivākyam ahaḥ* only. See under 4, above.

Vt. III says that regarding the prohibition (of *kutva*) in connection with *ṆyaT* inclusion should be made of the verbal base quoted as *tyajI-* in the rule. Patañjali quotes the example *tyājyam* 'what is to be abandoned.'

7.3.67 VACO 'ŚABDASAṂJÑĀYĀM '(a phoneme of the *kU*-class does not come in place of the *c*) of *vac-* "to speak," (if the suffix *ṆyaT* follows immediately,) except when the meaning of *śabdasaṃjnā* "a technical term referring to (a unit of) speech" is conveyed'

1. This is a *pratisedhasūtra,* prohibiting *kutva* for the *c* of *vac-,* on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *vacaḥ* (*aṅgasya cajoḥ ṇye*) *aśabdasaṃjnāyām. Vac-* is the verbal mentioned in the *Dhp.* 2.54. *Vacaḥ* is a sg. gen. which stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya,* continued from P. 6.4.1. *Aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *cajoḥ,* continued from P. 7.3.52. *Ṇye* is continued from P. 7.3.65. The term *śabdasaṃjnā* has been used earlier in P. 1.1.68. For the meaning of *śabda* see *AP* I, p. 122. The *vidheya* is (*na ku*) where *na* is continued from P. 7.3.59 and *ku* from P. 7.3.52.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *vācyam āha* 'he spoke what is to be spoken' and *avācyam āha* 'he spoke what is not proper to be spoken.' *ṆyaT* is added by P. 3.1.124 and 3.3.171. *Vṛddhi* is by P. 7.2.116. Cp. formation with the negative particle is by P. 2.2.6. *Kutva* is prohibited by P. 7.3.67.

4. To point out the significance of the condition *aśabdasaṃjnāyām,* the *KV* quotes the counterexample *avaghuṣitaṃ vākyam āha* 'he spoke a sentence in which his intention had been disclosed.' For the meaning attributed to *avaghuṣita* see *AP* XI, p. 57 (on P. 7.2.23). In the counterexample the *ṆyaT* derivation of *vac-* refers to a unit of speech.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.68 PRAYOJYA-NIYOJYAU ŚAKYĀRTHE *'prayojya* and *niyojya* (are *nipātanas* "ready-made words,") if the sense of *śakya* "capable, fit" is conveyed'

1. This is a *nipātanasūtra* mentioning two ready-made words in which *kutva* by P. 7.3.52 is not applied, on the condition stated.

2. For the absence of a regular *uddeśyavidheyabhāva* and the necessary contextual interpretation see P. 7.3.61, under 2. Part of the context is the suffix *ṆyaT* by P. 7.3.65. In the present rule the verbal base *aṅga* involved is *yuj-* (*Dhp.*7.7, mentioned as *yujIR*). *Śakyārthe* is a loc. meaning condition. It refers to P. 3.3.172, which states the sense of *śak-* 'to be able' regarding the action denoted by the verbal base of the *ṆyaT*-derivations. Accordingly, *prayojya* should be taken to mean 'who is fit to be employed' and *niyojya* 'who is fit to be appointed.' Here the sense of competence is implied.

The *Nyāsa* points out that the *rūḍha* 'conventional' sense of *prayojya* as *bhṛtya* 'servant' and of *niyojya* as *dāsa* 'slave' is not intended here. Both words have a merely derivative sense in which *guṇa* has been applied. The *Nyāsa* also says that *prayojya* and *niyojya* are not used in the sense of *svāmin* 'lord, master.'

3. The derivation of *prayojya* is as follows:

(1)		*yujIR-*		*Dhp.* 7.7
(2)	*pra*	+ *yuj*		
(3)	*prayuj*		+ *Ṇya*	P. 3.1.124; 3.3.172
(4)	*prayoj*		+ *ya*	P. 7.3.86
	prayojya.			

Similarly for *niyojya*. In stage (3) *kutva* is prohibited by P. 7.3.68.

4. To point out the significance of the meaning condition *śakyārthe* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *prayogya* and *niyogya*. Here *kutva* is applied to the *j* of *yuj-* by P. 7.3.52. Apparently, here the notion of competence is lacking. *Prayogya* can be taken to mean 'to be practised' and *niyogya* 'to be enjoined.'

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.69 BHOJYAṂ BHAKṢYE *'bhojyam* "what is to be eaten" (is a *nipātana* "ready-made word)," if the sense of *bhakṣya* "food" is conveyed'

1. This is a *nipātanasūtra* mentioning one ready-made word in which *kutva* by P. 7.3.52 is not applied, on the condition stated.

2. For the absence of a regular *uddeśyavidheyabhāva* and the necessary contextual interpretation see P. 7.3.61, under 2. Part of the context is the suffix *ṆyaT* by P. 7.3.65. In the present rule the verbal base *aṅga* involved is *bhuj-* 'to enjoy; to eat' (*Dhp.* 7.17, mentioned as *bhujA-*). *Bhakṣye* is a loc. meaning condition.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *bhojya odanaḥ* 'rice boiled with milk which is to be eaten' and *bhojyā yavāgūḥ* 'rice gruel which is to be eaten.'

The derivation of *bhojya* is as follows:

(1)	*bhujA-*	*Dhp.* 7.17
(2)	*bhuj + NyaT*	P. 3.1.124
(3)	*bhoj + ya*	P. 7.3.86
	bhojya.	

In stage (3) *kutva* is prohibited by P. 7.3.69.

4. Following the *bhāṣyavt.* on the present rule, the *KV* says that by *bhakṣya* in the rule we have to understand *abhyavahārya* 'soft food' only. See under 6, below.

5. To point out the significance of the meaning condition *bhakṣye* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *bhojyaḥ kambalaḥ* 'a woollen wrapper to be enjoyed.'

6. We have no *Vts* on the rule, but there is a *bhāṣyavt.* noted in the Kielhorn ed. of the *Mbh.* as *Vt.* I within square brackets. It says that *bhakṣye* is to be understood in the sense of *abhyavahārya* 'soft food.' The examples quoted in the *bhāṣya* are *bhojyaḥ sūpaḥ* 'a broth which is to be eaten.' and *bhojyāḥ yavāgūḥ* 'rice gruel which is to be eaten,' liquid (*drava*), soft (*viṁada*) food in both cases, in opposition to what is called *khara* 'solid (food).' Patañjali rejects the idea, because the verbal base quoted as *bhakṣI-* can be used with regard to soft food also. The examples are *abbhakṣa* 'one who lives on water' and *vāyubhakṣa* 'one who lives on air.' For the examples compare *PASPA, Bh.* No. 66.

7. P. 7.3.69 closes the sub-section dealing with *kutva.*

7.3.70 GHOR LOPO LEṬI VĀ *'lopa* comes preferably in place of (the final of the verbal base *aṅgas* referred to as) *ghu*, if *lEṬ* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the preferable deletion of the final vowel of *ghu* bases before *lEṬ* endings. P. 7.3.70 opens up a small sub-section dealing with *lopa* (and *luk*) up to P. 7.3.73 inclusive.

2. The *uddeśya* is *ghoḥ* (*aṅgasya*) *leṭi*. The term *ghu* is introduced by P. 1.1.20 as a cover term for the verbal bases *dā-* (*Dhp*. 3.9, *ḌUdāÑ*) and *dhā-* (*Dhp*. 3.10, *ḌUdhāÑ*). *Ghoḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1. *Aṅgasya* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. But P. 1.1.52 restricts the substitution to the final of the verbal base *aṅga*. *LEṬ* is the *lakāra* of the Vedic subjunctive. See Whitney, §§ 557- 563, and § 574 a. For the distinctive endings of *lEṬ* see P. 3.4.94-98. Pāṇini's treatment of the subjunctive is cursory only. In respect of Vedic forms the A. is completely different from Yāska's *Nirukta*. See *PASPA*, Note (4). In fact, P. 7.3.30 and *lEṬ* rules in general deal with *chandas*. The *vidheya* is *vā lopaḥ*. For the meaning attributed to *vā* see Kiparsky 1979, p. 1. For the rule itself see p. 70-71. *Lopa* 'zero-substitution' is defined by P. 1.1.60. According to P. 1.1.52, a substitute comes in place of the final phoneme of the *sthānin*.

Na from P. 7.3.59 is cancelled because of the change of *vidheya*. See *FANU*, p. 274, convention 40.

3. The examples for *lopa* as the preferred option quoted by the *KV* are *dádhat rátnaṃ daśúṣe* 'let him bestow jewels on the pious one' (ṚgV. 4.15.2), borrowed from Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on the rule, and *sómo dadat gandharvāya* 'let *soma* give to the Gandharva.' (ṚgV. 10.85.41). The derivation of *dadhat* is as follows:

(1)	*ḌUdhāÑ-*				*Dhp*. 3.10
(2)	*dhā*		+ *lEṬ*		P. 3.4.7
(3)	*dhā*		+ *tiP*		P. 3.4.78
(4)	*dha*		+ *aṬ*	+ *ti*	P. 3.4.94
(5)	*dhā*	+ *ŚaP*	+ *a*	+ *ti*	P. 3.1.68
(6)	*dhā*	+ °	+ *a*	+ *ti*	P. 2.4.73; 2.4.75
(7)	*dhā* + *dhā*		+ *a*	+ *ti*	P. 6.1.10
(8)	*dha* + *dhā*		+ *a*	+ *ti*	P. 7.4.60
(9)	*dha* + *dh°*		+ *a*	+ *tt*	P. 7.3.70
(10)	*dha* + *dh*		+ *a*	+ *t°*	P. 3.4.97

(11) *da* + *dh* + *a* + *t* P. 8.4.54
dadhat.

Similarly for *dadat*. Here the *Nyāsa* wrongly reads *dadan* explained as a 3rd pl. form in which *jhi* is replaced by *anti* (P. 7.1.3). Here the *i* is (preferably) deleted by P. 4.3.97. Then the *t* is deleted by P. 8.2.23.

According to the Benares and Hyderabad editions, the example for the non-preferred form is *yad agnir agnaye dadāt* 'in order that Agni give to Agni' (?). Patañjali, in his *bhāṣya* on the rule, mentions *tad agnir agnaye dadāt*. Here, as *Mbh.*, p. 333, note 1, explains, the *Kāṭha-Saṃh.* text reads *dadat*. In *dadāt* the verbal base vowel is not deleted. Instead, P. 6.1.101 is applied.

4. Following the *bhāṣya* on the rule, the *KV* points out that even without stating *vā* in the rule and still applying *lopa* we can derive the forms *dadāt*. The point simply is that we do not apply the augment *aṬ* by P. 3.4.94, but the augment *āṬ* by the same rule. The corresponding derivational stage is *da* + *d°* + *aṬ* + *t*. Then why state *vā*? The *KV* says *vispaṣṭārtham* 'for clarity's sake.' Without *vā* one may form the opinion that only the form *dadāt*, being the one prescribed when *lopa* (without *vā*) applies invariably, totally excludes that (other) form (*dadat*). *Vā* has been added to clear that matter up.

5. We have no *Vts* on the rule, but there is a *bhāṣya*. Here Patañjali says that we can do without *vā* in P. 7.3.70. *Lopa* has to be prescribed anyway, because otherwise we cannot derive the form *dadat*. The reason is that *dā* always ends in long *ā*. But for the optional non-application of *lopa* the word *vā* is not required. Even if *lopa* is invariably prescribed, we can have the form *dadāt* by making use of the augment *āṬ* in P. 3.4.94. So *vā* is not needed.

7.3.71 OTAḤ ŚYANI '(*lopa* comes in place of (the final of the verbal base *aṅgas* ending in) *oT*, if the *vikaraṇa*) *ŚyaN* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the deletion of the final of the verbal bases mentioned, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *otaḥ* (*aṅgasya*) *śyani*. *OT* is interpreted to mean *odanta* 'ending in *o*' by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). *Odanta* refers to the *upadeśa* form of the verbal base concerned. As is clear from the examples quoted by the *KV*, there are four *oT* bases. The *t* of *oT* is merely added to have a distinct genitive form. *Otaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. *Otaḥ* cancels *ghoḥ* from P. 7.3.70.

The word *aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. It is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. But P. 1.1.52 restricts the substitution to the final of the verbal base *aṅga*. *ŚyaN* is the *vikaraṇa* of the class IV conjugation by P. 3.1.69. *Śyani* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. It cancels *leṭi* from P. 7.3.70. The *vidheya* is (*lopaḥ*), continued from P. 7.3.70.

Although P 7.3.71 has the same *vidheya* as P. 7.3.70, the option word *vā* from P. 7.3.70 is not continued in the present rule. The reason is that P. 7.3.70 deals with a Vedic formation, and might have been inserted in the original A. at a later date.

3. The examples quotes by the *KV* are:

(a) For *śo-*: *niśyati* 'he sharpens'

(b) For *cho-*: *avacchyati* 'he cuts'

(c) For *do-*: *avadyati* 'he divides'

(d) For *so-*: *avasyati* 'he ends'

The derivation of *niśyati* is as follows:

(1)		*śo-*				*Dhp.* 4.37
(2)	*ni*	+ *śo-*				
(3)	*niśo*			+	*lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(4)	*niśo*			+	*tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*niśo*		+ *ŚyaN*	+	*ti*	P. 3.1.69.
(6)	*niś°*		+ *ya*	+	*ti*	P. 7.3.71
	niśyati.					

Similarly for *cho-* (*Dhp.* 4.38), *do-* (*Dhp.* 4. 40) and *so-* (*Dhp.* 4.39, noted as *ṣo-* with retroflexed ṣ to be replaced by dental *s* by P. 6.1.64). In *avacchyati* the augment *tUK* is added P. 6.1.73, and subsequently replaced by the corresponding palatal by P. 8.4.40.

4. We have two *Vts.* on the rule. *Vt.* I serves as the introduction to *Vt.* II. It says that we better rephrase P. 7.3.71 as *otaḥ śiti* '(*lopa* in place of *o*), if a suffix marked with *Ś* follows immediately.' *Śit* obviously includes *ŚyaN*. The reason for the rephrasing is stated by *Vt.* II. It says *Śiti* is the better reading in order to have the non-mention of *Śiti* in a following rule. The following rule meant is P. 7.3.75 where *Śiti* is actually mentioned. But the *Vārttikakāra* is of the opinion that we can

do away with *śiti* here and still have it by *maṇḍūkapluti* from P. 7.3.71. and save a few *mātrās* by the way. Patañjali points out that even in P. 7.3.74 *śyani* need not be continued, and that *śiti* wil do here also. Against the *Vārttikakāra's* proposal it may be stated that *maṇḍūkapluti* is a questionable device, introduced by commentators and not known to Pāṇini. See *AP* X, P. 7.1.70, under 3.

7.3.72 KSASYĀCI '(*lopa* comes) in place of (the final of a verbal base *aṅga* ending in) *Ksa*, if a suffix beginning with a vowel follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* dealing with a *lUṄ* formation. It prescribing the deletion of the final of a verbal base ending in the aor. marker *Ksa*, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *ksasya* (*aṅgasya*) *aci*. *Ksa* is the substitute of *ClI*, under particular conditions, by P. 3.1.45. Compare Whitney §§ 916, 920 f. *Ksasya* is interpreted to mean *ksa-antasya* by *PN*, *pbh*. 23. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. *Ksasya* cancels *otaḥ* from P. 7.3.71. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. It is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. But P. 1.1.52 restricts the substitution to the final of the verbal base *aṅga*. *Aci* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. It is interpreted to mean *ajādau* by the *tadādividhi* (*Vt*. XXII on P. 1.1.72). We supply *pratyaye* on account of the stem-suffix relation presupposed by the *aṅgādhikāra*. *Aci* cancels *śyani* from P. 7.2.71. The *vidheya* is (*lopaḥ*), continued from P. 7.3.70.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are the *ātm*. forms *adhukṣātām* 'the two of them milked,' *adhukṣāthām* 'the two of you milked' and *adhukṣi* 'I milked.'

The *prakriyā* of *adhukṣātām* is as follows:

(1)			*duh-*				*Dhp*. 2.4
(2)			*duh*			+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.2.110
(3)	*aṬ*	+	*duh*			+ *lUṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(4)	*a*	+	*duh*	+	*ClI*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.1.43
(5)	*a*	+	*duh*	+	*Ksa*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.1.45
(6)	*a*	+	*duh*	+	*sa*	+ *ātām*	P. 3.4.78 (*sārvadhātuka* by P. 3.4.113; *Nit*. by P 1.2.4
(7)	*a*	+	*duh*	+	*s°*	+ *atām*	P. 7.3.72
(8)	*a*	+	*dugh*	+	*s*	+ *ātām*	P. 8.2.32
(9)	*a*	+	*dhugh*	+	*s*	+ *ātām*	P. 8.2.37
(10)	*a*	+	*dhugh*	+	*ṣ*	+ *ātām*	P. 8.3.59
(11)	*a*	+	*dhuk*	+	*ṣ*	+ *ātām*	P. 8.4.55

adhukṣātām.

In stage (7) P. 7.2.81 becomes applicable. It tells us that long *ā* belonging to a *Ṅit* ending like *ātām* is replaced by *iy*, if it is preceded by short *a*. This is not desired in the present case. That is why P. 7.3.72 prescribes the deletion of the preceding short *a*. Since *Ksa* is *Kit*, *guṇavṛddhI* of the verbal base vowel is prohibited by P. 1.1.5.

4. To point out the significance of the condition *aci* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the *par*. counterexamples *adhukṣat* 'he milked' and *adhukṣatām* 'the two of them milked.' In the stage *a* + *duh* + *sa* + *t* (P. 3.4.100) *sa* (= *Ksa*) is not followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel. Therefore P. 7.3.72 is not applicable.

To point out the significance of the mention of *K* in *Ksa*, the *KV* says that it serves to prohibit deletion of the element *sa* in forms like *utsau* 'the two springs', *utsāḥ* 'springs', *vatsau* 'the two calves' and *vatsāḥ* 'calves.'

The derivation of *utsau* is as follows:

(1)	*utsa* + *au*	P. 4.1.2
(2)	*utsau*	P. 6.1.88
	utsau.	

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.73 LUG VĀ DUHA-DIHA-LIHA-GŪHĀM ĀTMANEPADE DANTYE '*luk*-deletion (comes) preferably in place of (*Ksa* coming after the verbal base *aṅgas*) *duh*- "to milk," *dih*- "to smear," *lih*- "to lick" and *gūh*- "to hide," if (a suffix called) *ātmanepada* which begins with a dental follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* dealing with a *lUṄ*-formation. It prescribes the *luk*-deletion of the final of four specifically mentioned verbal bases ending in *-h*, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *duhadihalihaguhām* (*aṅgānāṃ ksasya*) *ātmanepade dantye*. The first three verbal bases mentioned occur in the *Dhp*. 2.4, 5 and 6 in the same form ending in *A*. *GuhU*- is mentioned under No. 1.944. *Duh...guhām* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgānām*. The word *aṅgānām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It is a *śeṣaṣaṣṭhī* (P. 2.3.50) in connection with *ksasya*, continued from P. 7.3.72. *Ātmanepada* is defined by P. 1.4.100. It comprises

nine personal endings. *Ātmanepade* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. *Dantya* 'produced at the teeth' is a term taken from *Prātiśākhya* literature. See Allen 1953, p. 56. It qualifies *ātmanepade*. The *vidheya* is *luk vā*. *Luk* (P. 1.1.61) cancels *lopa* from P. 7.3.70. Whereas by *lopa* the final phoneme of a given base is deleted (P. 1.1.52), *luk*-deletion applies to a suffix, in our case the suffix *Ksa* as a whole. For the meaning attributed to *vā* see Kiparsky 1979, p. 1, and for te rule itself, p. 161-167.

3. The examples quotes by the *KV* are:

(a) For *duh-*: *adugdha/adhukṣata* 'he milked,' *adugdhāḥ/adhukṣathāḥ* 'you (sg.) milked,' *adugdhvam/adhukṣadhvam* 'you (pl.) milked ' and *aduhvahi/adhukṣāvahi* 'the two of us milked'

(b) For *dih-*: *adigdha/adhikṣata* 'he smeared'

(c) For *lih-*: *alīḍha/alikṣata* 'he licked'

(d) For *guh-*: *nyagūḍha/nyaghukṣata* 'he hid'

The preferred forms are mentioned first. It will be noted that in the examples among the endings beginning with a dental *vahi* is included, although *v* is not a dental. For the justification by the *KV* of the inclusion of *v* in the dental series see below, under 6.

The *prakriyā* of *adugdha* is as follows:

(1)		*duhA-*				*Dhp.* 2.4
(2)		*duh*			+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.2.110
(3)	*aṬ*	+ *duh*			+ *lUṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(4)	*a*	+ *duh*	+ *ClI*		+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.1.43
(5)	*a*	+ *duh*	+ *Ksa*		+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.1.45
(6)	*a*	+ *duh*	+ *sa*		+ *ta*	P. 3.4.78
(7)	*a*	+ *duh*	+ °		+ *ta*	P. 7.3.73 (*vā*)
(8)	*a*	+ *dugh*			+ *ta*	P. 8.2.32
(9)	*a*	+ *dugh*			+ *dha*	P. 8.2.40
(10)	*a*	+ *dug*			+ *dha*	P. 8.4.53
	adugdha.					

When *luk* is not applied, we derive as follows:

(7)	*a + dugh + sa + ta*	P. 8.2.32
(8)	*a + dhugh + sa + ta*	P. 8.2.37
(9)	*a + dhugh + sa + ta*	P. 8.3.59
(10)	*a + dhug + ṣa + ta*	P. 8.4.53
(11)	*a + dhuk + ṣa + ta*	P. 8.4.55
	adhukṣata.	

As regards the 1st person dual form ending in *vahi*, we derive as follows:

(6)	*a + duh + sa + vahi*	P. 3.4.78
(7)	*a + duh + ° + vahi*	P. 7.3.73
	a + duhvahi.	

In the non-preferred form *adhukṣāvahi* lengthening of the vowel of *sa* is applied by P. 7.3.101.

The derivation of *alīḍha* starting from stage (6) is as follows:

(6)	*a + lih + sa + ta*	P. 3.4.78
(7)	*a + lih + ° + ta*	P. 7.3.73
(8)	*a + liḍh + ta*	P. 8.2.31
(9)	*a + liḍh + dha*	P. 8.2.40
(10)	*a + liḍh + ḍha*	P. 8.4.41
(11)	*a + li° + ḍha*	P. 8.3.13
(12)	*a + lī + ḍha*	P. 6.3.111
	alīḍha.	

It will be noted that the order of rule application in the stages (11) and (12) goes against P. 8.2.1, due to the mix-up of sandhi-rules and *tripādī* rules.

4. To point out the significance of the mention of *duh-*, etc., the Benares and Hyderabad editions of the *KV* quote the counterexample *vyatyapukṣata*, meaning unknown. The Benares ed. in a note mentions the variant reading *vyatyarukṣata* 'he grew,' derived from *vyatiruh-*.

To point out the significance of the word *ātmanepade* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *adhukṣat* 'he milked.' Here the 3rd person sg. *par.* ending *tiP* is added by P. 3.4.78, and replaced by *t* by P. 3.4.100.

To point out the significance of the word *dantye* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the 1st person pl. form *adhukṣāmahi* 'we milked.' The ending *mahi* begins with a sound called *oṣṭhya* 'produced with the two lips.'

5. Why prescribe *luk*, when we can have *lopa* by *anuvṛtti* from P. 7.3.70? The answer by the *KV* is that *luk* is stated so that the whole (of *Ksa*) will be replaced. Otherwise, when *lopa* is applied, it will be applied to the final vowel only of *Ksa*. Still, we can also manage to have the desired forms (like *adugdha*, *adugdhās* and *adugdhvam*) by deleting the remaining *s* by P. 8.2.26. Thus what the *KV* says here is that in P. 7.3.73 the term *luk* is not required. We can manage by continuing *lopa* from P. 7.3.70, and delete *sa* in two stages, first the *a* by P. 7.3.73, and then the *s* by P. 8.2.26.

Against this procedure an objection is pointed out by the *KV*. The difficulty is that the deleted *a* is *sthānivat* by P. 1.1.57. This being so, even after the deletion of *a* the sequence concerned will still be *duh* + *sa* + *ta* for any further operations. The result is that we cannot apply P. 8.2.26. The objection is removed by having recourse to the maxim *pūrvatrāsiddhe na sthānivat* '*sthanivadbhāva* is not applied in the *pūrvatrāsiddha* section.' The maxim goes back to *Vt*. III on P. 1.1.58. See *STHĀNI*, Pt. I, p. 154, n. 570. We can, therefore, apply P. 8.2.26.

But that does not solve the question why *luk* has been stated in the rule. The *KV* briefly says that *luk* has been stated for the sake of *vahi*. The point is that after the deletion of the *a* of *sa* by means of *lopa* - in the *lopa*-version of P. 7.3.73- we cannot apply P. 8.2.26 to the form ending in *vahi*. The reason is that the *v* is not a *jhaL* sound. Therefore, to justify the form *aduhvahi*, we need *luk* for the deletion of *sa* as a whole.

6. The rule says *dantye*. How can that be interpreted to include *v*? According to the *KV*, we can do so by assuming that *v* is a *dantyoṣṭha* 'labio-dental' sound. On this point see Allen 1953, p. 57, and Kiparsky 1979, p. 163. The idea is that, since *v* shares characteristics of both labial and dental sounds, it may be termed *dantya* also. The *KV* thinks that this must have the intention of the *sūtrakāra*, because he has not used the *upadeśa* term *tau* 'if a *tU*-class phoneme follows' in the rule. *Tau* would have taken care of all dentals by P. 1.1.69.

In conclusion, the argument of the *KV* amounts to this that the words *luk* and *dantya* have been stated in the rule so that the dual forms ending in °*vahi* can be justified.

7. We refer to Kiparsky 1979, p. 164-167, for a further discussion regarding the use of *dantye* and of *vā* in the rule.

8. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

9. The present rule closes the sub-section dealing with *lopa* (and *luk*).

7.3.74 ŚAMĀM AṢṬĀNĀṂ DĪRGHAḤ ŚYANI 'a long vowel (comes) in place of (the vowel of) the eight (verbal base *aṅgas*) beginning with *śam*- "to become calm," if (the *vikaraṇa*) *ŚyaN* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a long vowel for the verbal base vowel of eight specified verbal bases, on the condition stated. The present rule opens up a small sub-section dealing with such substitutions up to P. 7.3.76 inclusive.

2. The *uddeśya* is *śamām aṣṭānām* (*aṅgānām*) *śyani*. The pl. form *śamām* indicates a *gaṇa*. For the use of the pl. compare P. 2.1.40, and P. 6.4.125. The same *gaṇa* has been mentioned in P. 3.2.141. The verbal bases concerned have been mentioned in the *Dhp*. 4.92-99. *Śamām aṣṭānām* discontinues *duha...guhām ātmanepade dantye* from P. 7.3.73. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgānām*. *Aṅgānām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with the supplied word *acaḥ* by P. 1.2.28. *ŚyaN* is the *vikaraṇa* 'conjugation class marker' of the class IV conjugation by P. 3.1.69. *ŚyanI*, also used in P. 7.3.71, is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. The *vidheya* is *dīrghaḥ*. The term *dīrgha* is introduced and defined by P. 1.1.27. According to P. 1.2.28, the word *acaḥ* 'in place of a vowel' is to be supplied whenever by the words *hrasva*, etc. a substitute is prescribed. *Dīrghaḥ* cancels *luk* from P. 7.3.73. The option word *vā* form P. 7.3.73 is discontinued because of the change of the *vidheya*. See *FANU*, p. 272, convention 24.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *śamU*- *śāmyati* 'he becomes calm'

(b) For *tamU*-: *tāmyati* 'he becomes weary'

(c) For *damU*-: *dāmyati* 'he subdues'

(d) For *bhramU*-: *bhrāmyati* 'he strays'

(e) For *kṣamU-*: *kṣāmyati* 'he endures'

(f) For *klamU-*: *ktāmyati* 'he is tired'

(g) For *madĪ-*: *mādyati* 'he feels glad'

ŚramU-, *śrāmyati* 'he becomes worn out' (*Dhp.* 4.95) has not been mentioned in the Benares and Hyderabad editions of the *KV*.

4. To point out the significance of the word *aṣṭānām* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *asyati* 'he throws.' *As-* is also a conjugation class IV base (*Dhp.* 4.100), but it is not included among the eight bases meant by P. 7.3.74. Therefore the verbal base vowel is not lengthened.

To point out the significance of the condition *śyani*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *bhramati* 'he strays.' Here the *vikaraṇa ŚaP* is (preferably) added by P. 3.1.70. Another counterexample is the pf. form *babhrāma* 'he has strayed.' Here *lIṬ* is added by P. 3.2.115. It is *ārdhadhātuka* by P. 3.4.115, not *sārvadhātuka* like *ŚyaN*. *Vṛddhi* of the verbal base vowel is by P. 7.2.116. Apparently, the only point in mentioning *babhrāma* is that lenghtening is not applied by P. 7.3.74.

5. The *Nyāsa* argues that *Śyani* could be continued from P. 7.3.71 by *maṇḍūkapluti*. Then why has it beeen mentioned again in P. 7.3.74? According to the *Nyāsa*, that is for clarity's sake only. Compare P. 7.3.71, under 4.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.75 STHIVU-KLAMY-ĀCAMĀṂ ŚITI '(a long vowel comes) in place of (the vowel of the verbal base *aṅgas*) *sthiv-* "to spit out," *klam-* "to be tired" and *ācam-* "to sip," if (a *vikaraṇa*) marked with *Ś* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a long vowel for the vowel of three specifically mentioned verbal bases, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *sthivuklamyācamām* (*aṅgānām*) *śiti*. *Śiti* discontinues *śyani* from P. 7.3.74. *SthivU-* is the verbal base mentioned as such in the *Dhp.* 1.592. *Klami-* is the quotation form of *klamU-* (*Dhp.* 4.98) by *Vt.* II on P. 3.3.108. We note that the *sūtra* in the Kielhorn text of the *Mbh* (III, p. 334) reads *klamU-*. So also the *SK*, No. 2320, on P. 7.3.75. *Ācam-* is the verbal base *camU-* (*Dhp.* 1.497) preceded by the *upasarga ā*. The *upasarga* has been added in the rule on the authority of the

Vārttikakāra (*Vt*. I). On the basis of the Kielhorn text and the *Vt*. we assume that the original *sūtra* must have read *sthivuklamucamām*. *Ācam-* has been mentioned earlier in P. 7.3.34. *Sthivu...ācamām* discontinues *śāmām aṣṭānām* from P. 7.3.74. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgānām*. *Aṅgānām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. According to P. 1.2.28, we have to supply *acaḥ* 'in place of the vowel (of the verbal base *aṅgas*).' Thus *aṅgānām* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī*. *Śit* is any *vikaraṇa* marked with *Ś*, like *ŚaP*, *ŚyaN*, *Śa*. The word *śiti* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. It discontinues *śyani* from P. 7.3.74. The *vidheya* is (*dīrghaḥ*) continued from P. 7.3.74.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *sthiv-*: *sthīvati* 'he spits'

(b) For *klam-*: *klāmati* 'he is tired'

(c) For *ācam-*: *ācāmati* 'he sips'

4. The *KV* notes that the mention of *klami-* in the rule is to make clear that reference is to the 1st conjugation class base *klam-*, not to the class IV base. The point is that P. 3.1.70 prescribes the *vikaraṇa ŚyaN* for *klam-* as the preferred option. Lengthening in the class IV base can be applied by P. 7.3.74.

Following *Vt*. I on the rule, the *KV* notes that the express mention of *ā* + *cam-* excludes any other *cam-*. Consequently, in the latter case we have *camati* only, without lengthening of the verbal base vowel.

5. We have one *Vt*. on the rule. It says that lengthening of the vowel of *cam-* takes place when the preverb *āṄ* is there. The example provided by Patañjali is *ācāmati* 'he sips.' The counterexamples are *uccamati* 'he sips up' and *vicamati* 'he sips asunder' (?).

7.4.76 KRAMAḤ PARASMAIPADEṢU '(a long vowel comes) in place of (the vowel of the verbal base *aṅga*) *kram-* "to move forward," if a *vikaraṇa* marked with *Ś* follows immediately (and) if *par*. endings follow after'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a long vowel for the vowel of the verbal base *kram-*, on the conditions stated. The conditions apply concurrently.

2. The *uddeśya* is *kramaḥ* (*aṅgasya śiti*) *parasmaipadeṣu*. *Kram-* is the verbal base mentioned in the *Dhp*. (1.502) as *kramU-* *Kramaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. *Kramaḥ* discontinues *sthivuklamyācamām* from P. 7.3.75. *Aṅgasya*, which is continued from P. 6.4.1,. is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with the word *acaḥ* supplied by P. 1.2.28. *Śiti* is continued from P. 7.3.75. The term *parasmaipada* is defined by P. 1.4.99. Like *śiti*, *parasmaipadeṣu* is a technical loc. The mention of two technical locatives, *śiti parasmaipadeṣu*, indicates a sequence of elements, namely, *kram* + *vikaraṇa* + *par*. ending. So the rule means *kramaḥ parasmaipadapūrvake śyani*. The *vidheya* is (*dīrghaḥ*), continued from P. 7.3.74.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *krāmati* 'he moves forward,' *krāmataḥ* 'the two of them move forward' and *krāmanti* 'they move forward.'

4. To point out the significance of the word *parasmaipadeṣu* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *ākramate ādityaḥ* 'the sun rises ' Here an *ātm*. ending is used by P. 1.3.40.

5. An objection is introduced and refuted. The lifficulty is about the lengthening of the vowel in the sg. 2nd. person *par*. imp. forms *utkrāma* 'move up' and *saṃkrāma* 'come together.' The derivation of *utkrāma* is as follows:

(1)	*kram-*	*Dhp*. 1.502
(2)	*ud* + *kram*	
(3)	*ud* + *kram* + *lOT*	P. 3.3.162
(4)	*ud* + *kram* + *si*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*ud* + *kram* + *ŚaP* + *si*	P. 3.1.68
(6)	*ud* + *kram* + *a* + *hi*	P. 3.4.87

At this stage two rules become applicable simultaneously. They are P. 7.3.76, which is conditioned by a *par*. ending, and P. 6.4.104, which prescribes *luk*-deletion of the ending *hi*. According to the *siddha*-theory (see e.g., *AP* I, p. 87-88), the environment changing rule has priority. Therefore the *luk*-deletion is applied first. That gives us

(7)	*ud* + *kram* + *a* + °	P. 6.4.104

Now the objection is that, since *hi* has been *luk*-deleted, we cannot apply lengthening by P. 7.3.76 because that is prohibited by P. 1.1.63. This rule prohibits any grammatical operation applicable to the *aṅga* which is conditioned by the deleted suffix. That is to say, the suffix deleted must be the *nimitta* 'cause' of the

designation *aṅga*. The objection is refuted by the *KV* on the ground that it operates with a wrong concept of what constitutes the *aṅga* in *utkrāma*, etc. Here the designation *aṅga* is applied to *utkram-* in relation to *ŚaP*, but not in relation to *hi*. So even if *hi* is *luk*-deleted, that does not prohibit a grammatical operation based on the designation *aṅga* for *utkram-*. Consequently, we can apply P. 7.3.76 for lengthening. The *prakriyā* then continues:

(8) *ud* + *krām* + *a* P. 7.3.76
(9) *ut* + *krām* + *a* P. 8.4.55
utkrāma.

Similarly for *saṃkrāma*.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7. The present rule concludes the sub-section dealing with lengthening of the verbal base vowel.

7.3.77 IṢU-GAMI-YAMĀṂ CHAḤ '*ch* (comes) in place of (the final of the verbal base *aṅgas*) *iṣU-* "to desire," *gam-* "to go" and *yam-* "to restrain," (if a *vikaraṇa* marked with *Ś* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *ch* for the final of three specified verbal bases, on the condition stated. The present rule opens up a brief sub-section dealing with substitutions of part or the whole of the verbal base up to P. 7.3.81 inclusive

2. The *uddeśya* is *iṣugamiyamām* (*aṅgānām*). *Iṣugamiyamām* discontinues *kramah* from P. 7.3.76. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgānām* which is continued from P. 6.4.1. *IṣU-* is the verbal mentioned in the *Dhp*. 6.19. *GamI* is the quotation form of the verbal base mentioned as *gamḶ-* in the *Dhp*. 1.1031. *Yam-* is the verbal base mentioned as *yamA-* in the *Dhp*. 1.1033. *Aṅgānām* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. But P. 1.1.52 restricts the substitution to the final of the verbal bases mentioned. *Śiti* is continued from P. 7.3.75. *Parasmaipadeṣu* from P 7.3.76 is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya* 'common sense.' It is wellknown that the *cha*-substitution in the verbal bases mentioned applies independently of *par*. or *ātm*. endings. The *vidheya* is *chaḥ*. It discontinues *dīrghaḥ* from P. 7.3.74.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *iṣ-*: *icchati* 'he desires'

(b) For *gam-*: *gacchati* 'he goes'

(c) For *yam-*: *yacchati* 'he restrains'

The derivation of *icchati* is as follows:

(1) *is-*			*Dhp*.6.11
(2) *is*		+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3) *is*		+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(4) *is*	+ *ŚaP*	+ *ti*	P. 3.1.68
(5) *ich*	+ *a*	+ *ti*	P. 7.3.77
(6) *i-tUK-ch*	+ *a*	+ *ti*	P. 6.1.73
(7) *icch*	+ *a*	+ *ti*	P. 8.4.40
icchati.			

Similarly for *gacchati* and *yacchati*.

4. The *KV* notes that *is-* has been quoted in the rule as *iṣU-* to make clear that reference is to the class VI verbal base. Therefore the *cha*-substitution does not concern the class IV (*Dhp*. 4. 19) and class IX (*Dhp*. 9.53) bases *iṣ-*. Here we derive the forms *iṣyati* and *iṣṇāti*. But the *Vārttikakāra* and Patañjali do not know the reading *iṣU-* in the rule. They read *iṣA-*. Compare *AP* XI, p. 102-103. Candragomin (C. 6.1.105) reads *iṣU*. So here we have clear evidence of a change in the text of a rule in the A. in the period between Patañjali and the authors of the *KV*. The different reading was already known to Candragomin.

The *KV* then turns to *Vt*. I and the *bhāṣya* on the rule which presuppose the reading *iṣA-* The *KV* says that those who do not read the verbal base *is-* (quoted as *iṣI-*) in the rule as marked with *U* (but read *iṣA-*), they let *aci* (from P. 7.3.72) continue in the present rule. Consequently, P. 7.3.77 contains two locatives, *aci* and *śiti*, and the question is, how to construe the relation between these two locative forms. Following Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on *Vt*. I on the rule, the *KV* continues by saying that those who read *iṣA-* in the rule consider that *ac*, being the main meaning, is qualified by *śiti*. That is to say, here *ac* is the *viśeṣya* and *Śit* the *viśeṣaṇa*. Why is that important? The *KV* explains that now we cannot apply the *tadādividhi* (*Vt*. XXIX on P. 1.1.72) to *aci* and interpret it in the sense of *ajādau pratyaye* 'when a suffix follows which begins with a vowel.' Not only the *tadantavidhi*, P.1.1.72 itself requires a *viśeṣaṇa* for its application, but the *tadādividhi* also. Once it is accepted that

aci is the *viśeṣya*, the resulting meaning for *aci śiti* is that there must be a vowel which is marked with *Ś*. The obvious candidate for the *vikaraṇa* which meets both requirements is the class VI *vikaraṇa Śa*. In this way *iṣA-* is interpreted to refer to the class VI verbal base *iṣ-*, and not the the class IV or class IX bases *iṣ-*.

There is one difficulty, though. It concerns the the *par*. 2nd person sg. imp. form *iṣāṇa*, mentioned by Patañjali in his *bhāṣya* on *Vt*. I. *Iṣāṇa* is derived from the class IX verbal base *iṣ-* by adding the suffix *ŚānaC*, which replaces the *vikaraṇa Śnā*. The ending *hi* is deleted by P. 6.4.105, and retroflexation of *n* is by P. 8.4.2. Then why not say that here in *ŚānaC* we have a vowel marked with *Ś* which follows immediately after the verbal base *aṅga*? And, therefore, why not apply the *cha*-substitution? The *KV* briefly observes that here the element marked with *Ś* is not the vowel (*ā*) only. The *Nyāsa* clarifies that the suffix *ŚānaC* as a whole is *Śit*. That is why in *iṣāṇa* the *cha*-substitution is not applied.

5. We have one *Vt*. on the rule. It says that the *cha*-substitution is applied to *iṣI-*, if *ahal* follows immediately. But what does *ahal* mean? It could be taken to mean 'non-consonant,' that is, a vowel. The examples provided by Patañjali are *iṣyati* and *iṣṇāti*. Here, clearly, the verbal base *aṅga* is not immediately followed by a vowel, but by a consonant of the *vikaraṇas ŚyaN* and *Śnā* respectively. Therefore the *cha*-substitution is not applied, and that is what we want.

But then Patañjali rejects the *Vt*. He proposes that *aci* 'when a vowel follows immediately (after the verbal base *aṅga*)' is continued from P. 7.3.72 in P. 7.3.77, by *maṇḍūkapluti*. In *iṣyati* and *iṣṇāti* the verbal base *aṅga* is not immediately followed by a vowel, but by a consonant. So what is achieved by *ahali* can also be achieved by continuing *aci*. In that way the *Vt*. can be dismissed. But there is a difficulty, how to justify the non-application of the *cha*-substitution in *iṣāṇa* where a vowel follows immediately after the verbal base?

A question is raised. Suppose, we accept the *Vt*. which says *ahali*. Then how is that supposed to stop the application of the *cha*-substitution in *iṣāṇa*? That is done, according to Patañjali, by interpreting *ahal* not as a *nañtatpuruṣa* in the sense of 'non-consonant, ' that is, vowel, but as a *bv*. in the sense of 'not containing a consonant.' The suffix *ŚānaC* does contain a consonant. Therefore the *cha*-substitution is not applied in *iṣāṇa*. But, in any case, the *Vt*. has been dismissed, and *aci* is continued instead.

That gives rise to another problem. Could *aci* be interpreted to mean *ajādau pratyaye* 'when a suffix follows which begins with a vowel' by the *tadādividhi*? If

so, then *ac* must function as a *viśeṣaṇa* 'qualifier.' Qualifier of what? Given the sequence *aci śiti, ac* could only be the qualifier of *śit*, and the sequence would be taken to mean *ajādau śiti* 'if a suffix marked with Ś follows which begins with a vowel.' In that case, the rule would be applicable to *iṣāṇa*. This is not desired. To remove this difficulty, Patañjali says that *ac* does not qualify *śit*. It is just the other way round. Stating the difficulty, Patañjali uses the phrases *śiti bhavati katarasmin aci* '(the *cha*-substitution) applies before a suffix marked with Ś, (but) before which kind of vowel (marked or unmarked)?' and *aci bhavati katarasmin śiti* '(the *cha*-substitution) applies before a vowel, (but) before which kind of suffix marked with Ś?' The conclusion is that there must be a vowel which follows immediately and which is marked with Ś. This is not the case in *iṣāṇa*, because here there is no immediately following vowel which is marked with Ś. What is marked with Ś is the suffix *ŚānaC* as a whole. So we must give up the interpretation of *aci* as *ajādau pratyaye*. See further under 4, above.

7.3.78 PĀ-GHRĀ-DHMĀ-STHĀ-MNĀ-DĀṆ-DṚŚY-ARTI-SARTI-ŚADA-SADĀṂ PIBA-JIGHRA-DHAMA-TIṢṬHA-MANA-YACCHA-PAŚYA-ṚCCHA-DHAU-ŚĪYA-SĪDĀḤ '*piba...sīd* (come) in place of *pā...sad* respectively, (if a *vikaraṇa* marked with Ś follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitutes for eleven verbal base *aṅgas* as a whole, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *pā...sadām* (*aṅgānāṃ śiti*). *Pā-...dāṆ-* are the verbal bases mentioned in the *Dhp*. 1.972-977. *Dṛśi-* is the quotation form (by *Vt*. II on P. 3.3.108) of the verbal base mentioned as *dṛśIR* (*Dhp*. 1.1037). *Arti-* is the quotation form of *ṛ-* (*Dhp*. 1.983). *Sarti* is the quotation form of *sṛ-* (*Dhp*. 1.983). *ŚadA-* (the added vowel is for ease of pronunciation) is the verbal base mentioned as *śadḶ-* (*Dhp*. 1.908). *Sad-* is the verbal base mentioned as *SadḶ* (*Dhp*. 1.907). Given the exact numerical correspondence of the items in the two sets, a one-to-one correspondence is established betwen them by P. 1.3.10. The *sthānins* are mentioned in a *dvandva* cp. which qualifies *aṅgānām*. The form *aṅgānām*, continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1, is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. *Śiti* is continued from P. 7.3.75. The *vidheya* is *piba...sīdāḥ*. The substitutes replace the whole of the *sthānin* by P. 1.1.55.

According to the *Nyāsa*, the class VI verbal base *śad-* (*śadḶ-, Dhp*. 6.134) is also included.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *pā*: *pibati* 'he drinks'

(b) For *ghrā*: *jighrati* 'he smells'

(c) For *dhmā*: *dhamati* 'he blows'

(d) For *sthā*: *tiṣṭhati* 'he stands'

(e) For *mnā*: *manati* 'he thinks'

(f) For *dāṄ*: *yacchati* 'he gives'

(g) For *dṛśi*: *paśyati* 'he sees'

(h) For *arti*: *ṛcchati* 'he goes'

(i) For *sarti*: *dhāvati* 'he runs'

(j) For *śadA-*: *śīyate* 'he falls'

(k) For *sad- sīdati* 'he sits'

4. Following *Vt*. I on the present rule, the *KV* says that in *pibati* there is a chance for applying *guṇa* by P. 7.3.86, which is not desired. It is prevented *PN*, *pbh*. 92. The *pbh*. says that once a grammatical operation in the *aṅgādhikāra* has been applied, there is no place for another *aṅgādhikāra* operation after that. The idea is that, since P. 7.3.78, which is an *aṅgādhikāra* rule, declares the substitute to be *piba*, we should not apply *guṇa* by the other *aṅgādhikāra* rule P. 7.3.86.

Referring to *Vt*. II, the *KV* briefly offers another way of preventing the application of P. 7.3.86 by saying: or rather, since the substitute ends in *a*, *ādyudātta* is prescribed by way of *nipātana*. Seer further under 6, *Vt*. II.

5. The *KV* further notes that grammarians desire the *dhāva*-substitution of the verbal base quoted as *sarti*, if the sense conveyed is that of going with speed. Otherwise, the sg. 3rd person present tense will by *sarati* or *anusarati* only.

6. We have two *Vts* on the rule. *Vt*. I states a prohibition for *guṇa* in the case of the verbal base substitute quoted as *pibi-*. Patañjali quotes the example *pibati* 'he drinks,' and explains that here there is an undesired chance for *guṇa* by P. 7.3.86.

He then refers to *Vt.* II which rejects *Vt.* I, and says that such a chance for *guṇa* does not exist, because the (substitute) verbal base when taken as *piba-* ends in *a*, and, therefore, has no vowel in prefinal position.

Vt. II is an *iti ced Vt.* It says that, if we consider that the substitute verbal base ends in *a*, a statement has already been made. Reference is to P. 6.1.162. This rule can be interpreted in two ways: (1) A verbal base is *antodātta*, and (2) A verbal base is *ādyudātta*. In the first interpretation the word *antaḥ* is continued from P. 6.1.159. In the second interpretation the word *ādeḥ* is to be supplied. The first interpretation requires the further rule P. 6.1.190. This rule says that the first syllable of a reduplicated verbal base is accented before a *sārvadhātuka* suffix which is unaccented and which comes in place of *l* (P. 6.1.186, *laḥ*). One example is *dadāti* 'he gives.' Here *ti* is unaccented by P. 3.1.4, and the verbal base vowel *ā* would be accented by P. 6.1.162, which is not desired. We want the reduplication syllable to be accented. To have this accentuation, P. 6.1.190 is required.

Now *Vt.* II on the present rule says that, if we accept the substitute verbal base as *piba-*, ending in *a*, and if this (*pib + a*) becomes the *aṅga*, we need not prohibit *guṇa*. The argument goes like this. According to the first interpretation of P. 6.1.162, the (substitute) verbal base *pibá* will be *antodātta*. We will then derive the sg. 3rd person form *pibá + a + ti*, in which both *a* and *ti* are unaccented by P. 3.1.4, as *pibáti* by P. 6.1.97 (*ekādeśasandhi*) and P. 8.2.5, which says that the *ekādeśa* vowel is *udātta*. But this accentuation is not desired. We want the form to be *ādyudātta*, as *píbati*. To have this accentuation, a special statement is needed. Where to find this special statement? Kaiyaṭa (in his comment on P. 3.4.78) says that the special statement is found as an *ādyudāttanipātana* 'ready-made form with *ādyudātta*' in *píbA* in P. 7.3.78. On the other hand, if to avoid the difficulty noted we accept the second interpretation of P. 6.1.162, we will have to supply the word *ādeḥ* in this rule.

What happens if we accept the substitute verbal base in question simply as *pib-*? Then P. 7.3.86 becomes applicable. That would give us **pebati*. This is clearly not desired. How to prevent it? To do so, Patañjali refers to *PN, pbh.* 92. This *pbh.* says that after the application of a grammatical operation prescribed in the *aṅgādhikāra*, another operation prescribed in the same section and applicable to the same stem is not to be applied. Compare *AP* IX, P. 6.4.160, under 5, and *STHĀNI*, Pt. II, p. 140-141 (*Vts* XXX and XXXI).

7.3.79 JÑĀJANOR JĀ *'jā* (comes) in place of (the verbal base *aṅgas*) *jñā-* "to know" and *jan-* "to be born," (if a *vikaraṇa* marked with *Ś* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitutes for two specified verbal bases, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *jñajanoḥ* (*aṅgayoḥ śiti*). *Jñajanoḥ* cancels *pā ..sadām* from P. 7.3.78. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgayoḥ*. *Jña-* is the verbal base mentioned as such in the *Dhp*. 9.36. *Jan-* is the verbal base mentioned as *janĪ-* in the *Dhp*. 4.41. For the function of the *anubandha Ī* see P. 7.2.14. *Aṅgayoḥ* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. *Śiti* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66, continued from P. 7.3.75 The *vidheya* is *jā*. It cancels *piba...sīdāḥ* from P. 7.2.78. The substitute replaces the whole of the *sthānins* by P. 1.1.55.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *jānāti* 'he knows' and *jāyate* 'he is born.' The *prakriyā* of *jānāti* is as follows:

(1) *jñā-*	*Dhp*. 9.36
(2) *jñā* + *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3) *jñā* + *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(4) *jñā* + *Śnā* + *ti*	P. 3.1.81
(5) *jā* + *nā* + *ti*	P. 7.3.79
jānāti.	

The *prakriyā* of *jāyate* is as follows:

(4) *jan* + *ŚyaN* + *te*	P. 3.1.69; *ātm*.ending by P. 1.3.12 (*anudāttet*)
(5) *jā* + *ya* + *te*	P. 7.3.79
jāyate.	

For the passive form *jāyate* (non-preferred) and *janyate* (preferred) 'birth is taken (by him)' see *AP* IX, p. 132 (P. 6.4.43).

4. The *KV* points out that the mention of *jan-* in the rule concerns the class IV base only. Therefore the class III base *janA-* (*Dhp*. 3.24), conveying the same meaning, is not included. The pres. sg. 3rd person of this base is *jajanti* (P. 2.4.75; 6.1.10).

5. We have no *Vts* on the rule, but there is a *bhāṣya*. Here Patañjali argues that the rule need not have read *jā*. It could have read *ja*, which saves one *mātrā*. Lengthening of the *a* before a *yaṄ* sound is taken care of by P. 7.3.101. But since the rule says *jā*, this must be meant to give us a clue. The clue is *PN*, *pbh*. 92, for which see P. 7.3.78, under 6 (*Vt*. II). What is the purpose of the clue? According to Patañjali, the purpose is that we can do away with *Vt*. I on P. 7.3.78. See also P. 7.3.80, under 5.

7.3.80 PVĀDĪNĀṂ HRASVAḤ 'a short vowel (comes) in place of (the final of the verbal base *aṅgas*) *pū*- "to clean," etc., (if a *vikaraṇa* marked with *Ś* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a short vowel for the final vowel of specified verbal bases, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *pvādīnām* (*aṅgānāṃ śiti*). *Pvādīnām* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgānām*. *Pū-ādi* is a *gaṇa*, indicated as such by the word *°ādi*, consisting of 21 verbal bases, most of them ending in long *ṝ*, and found in the *Dhp*. 9.12-32. *Pvādīnām* cancels *jñajanoḥ* from P. 7.3.79. *Aṅgānām*, continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1, is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with which *acaḥ* 'in place of a vowel' is to be supplied by P. 1.2.28. *Śiti* is continued from P. 7.3.75. The *vidheya* is *hrasvaḥ*. It cancels *jā* from P. 7.3.79. *Hrasva* is defined by P. 1.2.27.

3. The *KV* first explains what is meant by *pvādi*. It is a *gaṇa* read under the conjugation class IX verbal bases. The *gaṇa* begins with *pūÑ*- and ends with *vlī*- after which *vṛt* is stated, so some grammarians hold. The word *vṛt* serves to indicate the completion of two *gaṇas*, the *lvādi-gaṇa* (*Dhp*. 9.13-32) and the *pvādi-gaṇa* (*Dhp*. 9.12-32). The *lvādi-gaṇa* is mentioned in P. 8.2.44, the *pvādi-gaṇa* in the present rule, P. 7.3.80. P. 8.2.44 prescribes *natva* for the suffixes called *niṣṭhā*. So we derive *lūna* and *lūnavat* P. 7.3.80 prescribes shortening before a *Śit* suffix. So we derive *punāti*, *lunāti*, etc. The word *vṛt* occurs after *vlī*- (*Dhp*. 9.32). But other grammarians hold that *vṛt* serves to indicate the completion of the *lvādi-gaṇa* only. The *pvādi-gaṇa* then is thought to include all the rest of the *kryādi* verbal bases.

4. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *pūÑ*-: *punāti* 'he cleans'

(b) For *lūÑ*-: *lunāti* 'he mows'

(c) For *stṝÑ-*: (long vowel *ṝ*): *stṛṇāti* 'he strews, scatters'

5. The *KV* adds that for those who hold that the *pvādi-gaṇa* goes up to the end of the *kryādi* class shortening would undesirably apply in *jñā-* 'to know' (*Dhp.* 9.36). also. That goes against the lengthening implied by the substitution of *jā* for *jñā* prescribed by P. 7.3.79. The *KV*, following Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on P. 7.3.79, then points out that even if *ja* had been prescribed as the substitute for *jñā-* by P. 7.3.79, we could still have lengthening of the substitute verbal base vowel by P. 7.3.101. See P. 7.3.79, under 5. Even in the case of *jan-* 'to be born' the substitute *ja* would do, because here also we can apply lengthening by P. 7.3.101. Therefore, since P. 7.3.79 expressly states *jā*, this indicates that in *jānāti* and *jāyate* shortening by P. 7.3.80, and subsequent lengthening by P. 7.3.101 is not to be applied.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.81 MĪNĀTER NIGAME '(a short vowel comes) in place of (the final of the verbal base *aṅga*) *mī-* "to transgress" in a Vedic style utterance, (if a *vikaraṇa* marked with *Ś* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing shortening of the verbal base vowel in the case of *mî-* in a particular literary genre, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *mīnāteḥ* (*aṅgasya*) *nigame* (*śiti*). *Mīnāti* is the quotation form by *Vt.* II on P. 3.3.108 of the verbal base *mīÑ-* (*Dhp.* 9.4). It discontinues *pvādīnām* from P. 7.3.80. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. The word *aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1, is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with which *acaḥ* is to be supplied by P. 1.2.28. For *nigama* see *AP* IX, p. 17. *Śiti* is continued from P. 7.3.55. The *vidheya* is *hrasvaḥ*, continued frrom P. 7.3.80.

3. The example quoted by the *KV* is *pramiṇanti vratāni* 'they violate the vows.' *Ṇatva* is by P. 8.4.15. Compare ṚgV, 10.15.5, *pra miṇanti vratāni*.

4. To point out the significance of the word *nigame* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *pramīṇanti*. Here shortening is not applied.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

6. The present rule closes the sub-section dealing with substitutions of part or the whole of verbal base *aṅgas*.

7.3.82 MIDER GUṆAḤ 'a *guṇa* vowel (comes) in place of (the *iK* vowel of the verbal base *aṅga* quoted as) *midi-* "to become fat," (if a *vikaraṇa* marked with *Ś* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *guṇa* grade vowel for the vowel of *mid-*, on the condition stated. The present rule opens up a subsection dealing with *guṇa-* and *vṛddhi*-substitutions up to P. 7.3.91 inclusive.

2. The *uddeśya* is *mider* (*aṅgasya śiti*). *Midi-* is the quotation form by *Vt.* II on P. 3.3.108 of the verbal base *ÑImidĀ-* (*Dhp.* 4.133). *ÑI* is deleted by P. 1.3.5. For the function of the *anubandha Ā* see P. 7.2.16. *Mideḥ* stands in a *samānādhikarana* relation with *aṅgasya*. It discontinues *mīnāteḥ* from P. 7.3.81. *Aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with the word *ikaḥ* to be supplied from P. 1.1.3. The *vidheya* is *guṇaḥ*. It discontinues *hrasvaḥ* from P. 7.3.80. *Guṇa* is defined by P. 1.1.2.

The word *nigame* from P. 7.3.81 is discontinued. See *FANU*, p. 274, convention 46.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *medyati* 'he becomes fat,' *medyataḥ* 'the two of them become fat,' and *medyanti* 'they become fat.' Since *mid-* is *udāttet*, it takes *par.* endings by P. 1.3.78. The *Śit vikaraṇa* is *ŚyaN* by P. 3.1.69. It is *Ṅit* by P. 1.2.4, so P. 1.1.5 prohibits *guṇa*. To have *guṇa* before *ŚyaN*, a special rule is required. That rule is P. 7.3.82. On the other hand, in the conjugation class I base *mid-* (*Dhp.* 1.799) the *vikaraṇa ŚaP*, being *Pit*, is not *Ṅit*. Therefore we apply *guṇa* by P. 7.3.86.

4. The *KV* emphasizes that P. 7.3.82 applies before a *Śit vikaraṇa* only. Therefore in the impersonal pass. *midyate* 'it becomes fat (by him)' formed with *yaK* (P. 3.1.67) *guṇa* is not applied. As explained by the *Nyāsa*, the *ātm.* ending here is added by P. 1.3.13.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.83 JUSI CA 'also, (a *guṇa* vowel comes in place of verbal base *aṅga* ending in an *iK* vowel), if (the suffix) *Jus* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *guṇa* vowel for the final *iK* vowel of a verbal base, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya*) *jusi*. On the basis of P. 1.1.3 we supply the word *ikaḥ* in connection with *aṅgasya*. As explained by the *Nyāsa*, since *ikaḥ* qualifies *aṅgasya*, it is to be interpreted as *igantasya* '(in place) of a verbal base ending in an *iK* vowel' by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). *Aṅgasya* is a *sthāneyogaṣaṣṭhī* by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, the substitution takes place of the final of the *sthānin*. *Mideḥ* from P. 7.3.82 is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. The present rule is not restricted to any specific verbal base. *Jus* is the replacement of *jhi* as the pl. 3rd person ending in *lIṄ*-formations by P. 3.4.108. It is also the replacement of *jhi* in the *sIC* aor. and in the impf. of reduplicated verbal bases by P. 3.4.109. According to P. 3.4.103, the *par.* endings in *lIṄ* formations take the augment *yāsUṬ*. *Jusi* discontinues *śiti* from P. 7.3.75. We note that in *jusi* *ṣatva* by P. 8.3.59 is not applied. The *vidheya* is (*guṇaḥ*), continued from P. 7.3.82.

The particle *ca* serves as a rule boundary. See *FANU*, p. 36, 232.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are the impf. 3rd pl forms *ajuhavuḥ* 'they offered an oblation,' *abibhayuḥ* 'they feared' (both taken from Patañjali) and *abibharuḥ* 'they carried.' The derivation of *ajuhavus* is as follows:

(1)	*hu-*					*Dhp*. 3.1
(2)		*hu*			+ *lAṄ*	P. 3.2.110
(3)	*aṬ*	+ *hu*			+ *lAṄ*	P. 6..4.71
(4)	*a*	+ *hu*			+ *jhi*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*a*	+ *hu*	+ *ŚaP*		+ *jhi*	P. 3.1.68
(6)	*a*	+ *hu*	+ *Ślu*		+ *jhi*	P. 6.1.10
(7)	*a*	+ *hu*	+ *hu*	+ *Ślu*	+ *jhi*	P. 6.1.10
(8)	*a*	+ *hu*	+ *hu*	+ °	+ *jhi*	P. 2.4.72
(9)	*a*	+ *jhu*	+ *hu*		+ *jhi*	P. 7.4.62
(10)	*a*	+ *jhu*	+ *hu*		+ *Jus*	P. 3.4.109
(11)	*a*	+ *jhu*	+ *ho*		+ *us*	P. 7.3.84
(12)	*a*	+ *jhu*	+ *hav*		+ *us*	P. 6.1.78
(13)	*a*	+ *ju*	+ *hav*		+ *us*	P. 8.4.54
	ajuhavus.					

Similarly for *abibhayaus*. In the derivation of *abibharus* the vowel *ṛ* of the reduplication is replaced by *i* by P. 7.4.76.

Jus is *Ṅit* by P. 2.4.1. Therefore *guṇa* is prohibited by P. 1.1.5. To have *guṇa* before *Jus*, a special rule is required. That rule is P. 7.3.83.

4. The *KV* then raises a question. Why is *guṇa* by P. 7.3.83 not applied in the *lIṄ*-formations *cinuyus* 'let them pile up' and *sunuyus* 'let them press (*soma*),' whereas it is applied in *ajuhavus*? The examples *cinuyus* and *sunuyus* are borrowed from Patañjali's *bhāsya* on *Vt*. I on the present rule The derivation of *cinuyus* is as follows:

(1)	*ci-*			*Dhp.* 5.5
(2)	*ci*		+ *lIṄ*	P. 3.3.163
(3)	*ci*		+ *jhi*	P. 3.4.78
(4)	*ci* + *Śnu*		+ *jhi*	P. 3.1.73
(5)	*ci* + *nu*	+ *yāsUṬ*	+ *jhi*	P. 3.4.103
(6)	*ci* + *nu*	+ *yās*	+ *Jus*	P. 3.4.109
(7)	*ci* + *nu*	+ *yā°*	+ *us*	P. 7.2.79
(8)	*ci* + *nu*	+ *y°*	+ *us*	P. 6.1.96
	cinuyus.			

In answer, the *KV* explains that in the examples we have two types of *Ṅittva*. One is termed *sārvadhātukāśrayaṃ ṅittvam* '*Ṅittva* dependent on a *sārvadhātuka* (suffix).' *Jus* is a *sārvadhātuka* suffix. The other is termed *yāsuḍāśrayaṃ ṅittvam* '*Ṅittva* dependent on *yāsUṬ*.' *YāsUṬ* is an augment. The first type of *Ṅittva* is by P. 2.1.4 (*apit* = *Ṅit*), the second type is by P. 3.4.103. The first type of *Ṅittva* cannot but apply (*nāprāpta* = *avaśyaprāpta*). It always, invariably, applies to *Jus* on account of its being a *sārvadhātuka* suffix, and, therefore, it invariably leads to a prohibition of *guṇa* by P. 1.1.5. This is what is set aside by P. 7.3.83. An example is *ajuhuvus*. The term *nāprāpta* is reminiscent of the definition of *apavāda* as *yena nāprāpte yo vidhir ārabhyate sa tasya bādhako bhavati* '(a rule B) which cannot but apply when (another) rule A is stated overrules that (rule A).' See Ṅāgeśa on *PN, pbh.* 57).

But P. 7.3.83 does not set aside the *Ṅittva* which is dependent on *yāsUṬ*. Examples are *cinuyus* and *sunuyus*. Clearly, here *guṇa* is not applied. Apparently, it remains blocked by P. 1.1.5. Why? The reason is stated by the *KV* as *tatra hi prāpte cāprāpte cārabhyata iti* 'because there (in *cinuyus*, etc. P. 7.3.83) is formulated when (*Ṅittva*) is both *prāpta* and *aprāpta*.' The argument of the *KV* is not found in Patañjali. The sequence under consideration is *ci* + *nu* + *yās* + *us*. Here, in addition to the *Ṅittva* of *Jus* by P. 1.2.4, we have *Ṅittva* of *yās* by P. 3.4.103.

What is meant by both *prāpta* and *aprāpta*? Since the *Ṅittva* of *Jus* is *nāprāpta* 'invariably applicable,' to be both *prāpta* 'applicable' and *aprāpta* 'not applicable' can only be said of the *Ṅittva* of *yāsUṬ*. But in what sense? As explained by the *Nyāsa*,

the Ṅittva of yāsUṬ applies, is *prāpta*, in *vidhiliṅ* forms, like *cinuyus*, but it does not apply, is *aprāpta*, outside *vidhiliṅ* forms, like in *ajuhavus*. In other words, the Ṅittva of *yāsUṬ* has a restricted domain only. It is not valid outside that domain. Therefore, although the Ṅittva of *Jus* is set aside by P. 7.3.83, and, consequently, *guṇa* is applied in forms like *ajuhavus*, this is not the case when *Jus* is preceded by *yāsUṬ* in forms like *cinuyus*. Here the Ṅittva of *yāsUṬ* blocks *guṇa* by P. 7.3.83.

In fact, the explanation offered by the *KV* for the non-application of P. 7.3.83 in *cinuyus*, etc. is wrong. According to *PN*, *pbh*. 11, the sequence *yāsUṬ* + *Jus* is considered to be a single element. The reason why *guṇa* is not applied in *cinuyus*, etc. lies in the fact that here the ending *Jus* does not follow immediately after the *iganta* verbal base. Between the *aṅga* and *Jus* the linguistic element *yās* intervenes. Compare the argument in *AP* X, p. 12, in connection with the non-application of P. 7.1.5 in the *prakriyā* of *śerate*.

5. We have one *Vt*. on the rule. It says that a prohibition regarding *yāsUṬ* should be phrased when the question is of applying *guṇa* before *Jus*. The examples quoted by Patañjali are *cinuyuḥ* 'may they pile up' and *sunuyuḥ* 'may they press (*soma*).' Patañjali rejects the *Vt*. His idea is that P. 7.3.82, *mider guṇaḥ*, and P. 7.3.83, *jusi ca*, are to be read as one rule. That creates difficulties also, of which Patañjali disposes by some subtle reasoning, not helpful for the interpretation of the rule.

7.3.84 SĀRVĀDHĀTUKĀRDHADHĀTUKAYOḤ '(a *guṇa* vowel comes in place of a verbal base *aṅga* ending in an *iK* vowel), if a *sārvadhātuka* or an *ardhadhātuka* suffix follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *guṇa* vowel for the final *iK* vowel of a verbal base, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*aṅgasya*) *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*. On the basis of P 1.1.3 we supply the word *ikaḥ* in connection with *aṅgasya*. *Ikaḥ* is interpreted as *igantasya* 'in place of (a verbal base) ending in an *iK* vowel.' See P. 7.3.83, under 2. *Aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1, is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, the substitution takes place of the final of the *sthānin*. *Sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. It discontinues *jusi* from P. 7.3.83. The terms *sārvadhātuka* and *ardhadhātuka* have been defined by P. 3.4.113 and 114 respectively. P. 3.4.115 and 116 stipulate that the pf. endings and the *āśīrliṅ* endings are called *ardhadhātuka*. The *vidheya* is (*guṇaḥ*), continued from P. 7.3.82.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For the *sārvadhātuka* endings: *tarati* 'he crosses,' *nayati* 'he brings' and *bhavati* 'he becomes'

(b) For the *ardhadhātuka* endings: *kartā* 'one who does'/'he will do,' *cetā* 'one who piles up'/'he will pile up' and *stotā* 'one who praises'/'he will praise'

The verbal bases concerned are *tṛ*- (*Dhp.* 1.1018), *nī*- (*Dhp.* 1.950, *ṇīÑ*-), *bhū*- (*Dhp.* 1.1), *kṛ*- (*Dhp.* 8.10, *ḌUkṛÑ*-), *ci*- (*Dhp.* 5.5, *ciÑ*-), *stu*- (*Dhp.* 2.34, *StuÑ*-).

The examples for *ardhadhātuka* suffixes are either *ṆvuL* formations by P. 3.1.133, or periphr. fut. (*lUṬ*) formations by P. 2.4.85. Deletion of *ās* of *tās* is by P. 6.4.143. *Guṇa* of the verbal base vowel by P. 7.3.84

4. To point out the significance of the condition *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *agnitvam* 'the state of Agni' and *agnikāmyati* 'he desires to have fire.' *Agnitvam* is a *tvatalau* formation by P. 5.1.119 in the sense of *tasya bhāvaḥ* 'the state of that.' Suffixes added to a *prātipadika* are never called *sārvadhātuka* or *ardhadhātuka*. In *agnikāmyati* the denom. suffix *kāmyaC* is added by P. 3.1.9 *KāmyaC* is never added to a verbal base, but to an inflected *prātipadika* only.

5. The *KV* notes that, if the rule had read *pratyaye* instead of *sārvārdhadhātukayoḥ*, or if *sani* had been stated instead of *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*, then it would have (over-)applied in the counterexamples also. As explained by the *Nyāsa*, the reason is that before the suffixes *tva* and *kāmyaC* the word *agni* would be an *iganta aṅga*. *SaN* is the *pratyāhāra* of the suffixes beginning with *sa* (P.3.1.5) up to *mahiṄ* ending in *Ṇ* (P. 3.4.78). The term is used in *Vt*. VII on P. 6.1.9. *Sani* would have included *kāmyaC* (P. 3.1.9) also.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.85 JĀGRO 'VICIṆṆALṄITSU 'a *guṇa* vowel comes in place of the verbal base *aṅga*) *jāgṛ*- "to wake up" (ending in an *iK* vowel, if a *sārvadhātuka* or *ardhadhātuka* suffix follows immediately,) with the exclusion of *vi*, *CiṆ*, *ṆaL*, or a suffix marked with *Ṅ* '

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *guṇa* vowel for the final *iK* vowel of *jāgṛ*, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *jāgraḥ* (*aṅgasya sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*) *aviciṇṇalṅitsu*. *Jāgṛ-* is the verbal base mentioned as such in the *Dhp.* (2.63). *Jāgraḥ* is the *upadeśa* gen. form, where *jāguḥ* is expected. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. On the basis of P. 1.1.3 we supply the word *ikaḥ* in connection with *aṅgasya*. *Ikaḥ* is interpreted as *igantasya* 'in place of (a verbal base) ending in an *iK* vowel.' See P. 7.3.83, under 2. *Aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1, is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, substitution takes place of the final of the *sthānin*. *Sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.84. *Aviciṇṇalṅitsu* is a *nañsamasa* by P. 2.2.6. It states an exception in the pl. loc. *Vi* (*KviN*) is an *uṇādi* suffix, see *SK*, *Uṇādiprakaraṇam*, *sūtra* No. 503. *CiṆ* is a substitute of the aor. marker *ClI* by P. 3.1.66, used to form the 3rd person impersonal passive. *ṆaL* is the pf. 3rd sg. *par.* ending by P. 3.4.82. The *vidheya* is (*guṇaḥ*), continued from P. 7.3.82. *Apit* suffixes are *Ṅitṭ* by P. 1.2.4, and, therefore, subject to the prohibition of *guṇavṛddhī* by P. 1.1.5.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) *jāgarayati* 'he causes to wake up'

(b) *jāgarakaḥ* 'one who wakes up' A *ṆvuL* derivation by P. 3.1.133.

(c) *sādhujāgarī* 'one who habitually wakes up well' A *ṆinI* derivation by P. 3.2.78.

(d) *jāgaraṃjāgaram* 'after having woken up again and again' A *ṆamUL* derivation by P. 3.4.22.

(e) *jāgaro vartate* 'waking up takes place' A *bhāve GHaÑ* derivation by P. 3.3.18.

(f) *jāgaritaḥ* 'one who has been woken up' A *niṣṭhā Kta* derivation by P 1.1.26 3.2.102 and 3.4.72.

(g) *jāgharitavān* 'one who has woken up' A *niṣṭhā KtavatU* derivation by P. 1.1.26, 3.2.102 and P. 3.4.72.

The *prakriyā* of *jāgarayati* is as follows:

(1) *jāgṛ-*		*Dhp.* 2.63
(2) *jāgṛ*	+ *ṆiC*	P. 3.1.26

(3) *jāgṛ* + *i* + *lAṬ* P. 3.4.69; 3.2.123
(4) *jāgṛ* + *i* + *tiP* P. 3.4.78
(5) *jāgṛ* + *i* + *ŚaP* + *ti* P. 3.1.68
(6) *jāgar* + *i* + *a* + *ti* P. 7.3.85; 1.1.51
(7) *jāgar* + *e* + *a* + *ti* P. 7.3.84
(8) *jāgar* + *ay* + *a* + *ti* P. 6.1.78
jāgarayati.

The *prakriyā* of *jāgaraka* is as follows:

(2) *jāgṛ* + *ṆvuL* P. 3.1.133
(3) *jāgṛ* + *aka* P. 7.1.1
(4) *jāgar* + *aka* P. 7.3.85
jāgaraka.

The *prakriyā* of *sādhujāgarin* is as follows:

(1) ((*sādhu* + *am*) + *jāgṛ*)) + *ṆinI* P. 3.2.78
(2) ((*sādhu* + °) + *jāgṛ*)) + *in* P. 2.4.71
(3) *sādhujāgar* + *in* P. 7.3.85
sādhujāgarin.

The *prakriyā* of *jāgarita* is as follows:

(2) *jāgṛ* + *Kta* P. 3.2.102; 3.4.70
(3) *jāgṛ* + *iṬ* + *ta* P. 7.2.35
(4) *jāgar* + *i* + *ta* P. 7.3.85
jāgarita.

For *jāgaritavān* compare the derivation of *bhavān* in *AP* X, p. 36.

4. Referring to *Vt.* I on the rule, the *KV* notes that the prescription of *guṇa* for *jāgṛ-* applies in the domain of *vṛddhi* (by P. 7.2.115-116) and in the domain of a prohibition (namely, of *guṇa*, by P. 1.1.5). The *Nyāsa* explains that otherwise, outside the domains noted, we can manage to have *guṇa* by P. 7.3.84. Now, after applying *guṇa* by P. 7.3.85 and after applying P. 1.1.51, why not apply *vṛddhi* to the prefinal *a* of *jāgar* by P. 7.2.116? That would be a mistake, because it would make P. 7.3.85 meaningless. If *jāgārayati* were the desired form, we could have derived it immediately by P. 7.2.115. This already shows that P. 7.3.85 is an *apavāda* to P. 7.2.115-116. Moreover, the application of *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116 after that of *guṇa*

by P. 7.3.85 would make the exception for *guṇa* in the case of *CiṆ* and *ṆaL* in P. 7.3.85 meaningless.

The *prakriyā* of the *CiṆ* form is as follows:

(2)	*jāgṛ* + *lUṄ*	P. 3.2.110
(3)	*aṬ* + *jāgṛ* + *lUṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(4)	*a* + *jāgṛ* + *ClI* + *lUṄ*	P. 3.1.43
(5)	*a* + *jāgṛ* + *ClI* + *ta*	P. 3.4.78
(6)	*a* + *jāgṛ* + *CiṆ* + *ta*	P. 3.1.66
(6)	*a* + *jāgār* + *i* + *ta*	P. 7.2.115; 1.1.51
(7)	*a* + *jāgar* + *i* + °	P. 6.4.104

ajāgāri 'it was woken up (by him)'

The *prakriyā* of the *ṆaL* form is as follows:

(2)	*jāgṛ* + *lIṬ*	P. 3.2.115
(3)	*jā* + *jāgṛ* + *lIṬ*	P. 6.1.8; 7.4.60
(4)	*jā* + *jāgṛ* + *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*jā* + *jāgṛ* + *ṆaL*	P. 3.4.82
(6)	*ja* + *jāgṛ* + *a*	P. 7.4.59
(7)	*ja* + *jāgār* + *a*	P. 7.2.115 (*guṇa* is prohibited by P. 7.3.85); 1.1.51

jajāgāra 'he has woken up'

Here also, if we apply *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.115, or first apply *guṇa* by P. 7.3.85 and then *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116, the result would be the same. That would make P. 7.3.85 meaningless. This also shows that P. 7.3.85 must be an exception to P. 7.2.115-116.

5. To show the significance of the exception *aviciṇṇalṅitsu* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the following counterexamples:

(a) For *vi*: *jāgṛviḥ* 'wakeful' This is an *uṇādisūtra*-derivation, *SK*, No. 503. The form is quoted as a counterexample for the *paryudāsa*-interpretation of *aviciṇṇalṅitsu* in the *bhāṣya* on *Vt*. VII on the rule.

(b) For *CiṆ*: *ajāgāri* See under 4, above.

(c) For *ṆaL*: *jajāgāra* See under 4, above.

(d) For *Ṅit*: *jāgṛtaḥ* 'the two of them wake up' and *jāgṛthaḥ* 'the two of you wake up'

In all these counterexamples P. 7.3.85 prohibits *guṇa*. Therefore *vṛddhi* is applicable. It is applied in (b) and (c). *Guṇa* applicable by P. 7.3.84 is prohibited in (a) and (d). Here the endings are *ārdhadhātuka* by P. 3.4.114. Therefore. P. 1.1.5 prohibits *guṇa*. In (d), moreover, *ŚaP* is *luk*-deleted by P. 2.4.72, as stated by the *Nyāsa*.

6. Referring to *Vt*. VII and IX on the rule, the *KV* says that, according to some, the *i* in *vi* in *aviciṇṇalṅitsu* is for ease of pronunciation only. Consequently, these grammarians think that P. 7.3.85 prohibits *guṇa* for suffixes beginning with *v*, like *KvasU* (P. 3.2.107) in *jajāgṛvān* 'one who has woken up.'

The *prakriyā* of *jāgṛvān* is as follows:

(2)	*jāgṛ* + *lIṬ*		P. 3.2.115
(3)	*jāgṛ* + *KvasU*	+ *sU*	P. 3.2.107 (this is a *chandas* rule); 4.1.2
(4)	*jā* + *jāgṛ* + *vas*	+ *s*	P. 6.1.8; 7.4.60
(5)	*ja* + *jāgṛ* + *vas*	+ *s*	P. 7.4.59
(6)	*ja* + *jāgṛ* + *va-nUM-s*	+ *s*	P. 7.1.70;
(7)	*ja* + *jāgṛ* + *vāns*	+ *s*	P. 6.4.14
(8)	*ja* + *jāgṛ* + *vāns*	+ °	P. 6.1.68
(9)	*ja* + *jāgṛ* + *vān°*		P. 8.2.7
	jagṛvān.		

In fact, *lIṬ* is *ārdhadhātuka* by P. 3.4.115. But in *chandas* the distinction between *ārdhadhātuka* and *sārvadhātuka* is not strictly maintained, as stated by P. 3.4.117. Therefore *KvasU*, which is substituted for *lIṬ* in *chandas*, may be considered a *Ṅit sārvadhātuka* suffix by 3.4.117 and P. 1.2.4. Consequently, *guṇa* is prohibited by P. 1.1.5.

7. Next, the *KV* raises the question, why is *guṇa* by P. 7.3.85 not applied in the impf. *par*. 3rd pl. *ajāgaruḥ* 'they woke up' and the pf. *par*. 1st sg. *aham jajāgara* 'I have woken up'? The examples have been borrowed from Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on *Vts* II and III on the rule.

The *prakriyā* of *ajāgarus* is as follows:

(2)	*jāgṛ*	+ *lAṄ*	P. 3.2.110

(3)	*aT + jāgr + lAṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(4)	*a + jāgr + jhi*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*a + jāgr + ŚaP + jhi*	P. 3.1.68
(6)	*a + jāgr + ° + jhi*	P. 2.4.72
(7)	*a + jāgr + Jus*	P. 3.4.103
(8)	*a + jāgar + us*	P. 7.3.84; 1.1.51
	ajāgarus.	

The ending *us* is *Ṅit* by P. 1.2.4. Therefore why is *guṇa* is not prohibited by P. 7.3.85, *avi...ṅitsu*, itself? Referring to *Vt*. VIII on the rule, the *KV* says that *aviciṇṇalṅitsu* is to be taken as a *paryudāsa*. That is to say, the *nañsamasa* is interpreted to mean 'excluding (the suffixes) *vi*, etc.' Thus, although P. 7.3.85 does not apply here, *guṇa* may be applied by another rule, like P. 7.3.83 or 84. Taken as *prasajyapratiṣedha*, *aviciṇṇalṅitsu* would have meant that that before these suffixes *guṇa* by P. 7.3.85 is not allowed at all.

The *prakriyā* of *jajāgara* is as follows:

(2)	*jāgṛ + lIṬ*	P. 3.2.115
(3)	*jā + jāgṛ + lIṬ*	P. 6.1.8; 7.4.60
(4)	*jā + jāgṛ + miP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*jā + jāgṛ + ṆaL*	P. 3.4.82
(6)	*ja + jāgṛ + a*	P. 7.4.59
(7)	*ja + jāgar + a*	P. 7.3.84; 1.1.51
	jajāgara.	

The ending *ṆaL* is *Ṅit*. Therefore P. 7.3.85 prohibits *guṇa* before *ṆaL*. Instead, we will have *yaṆ-ādeśa* by P. 6.1.77, and the resulting form is **jajāgra*. To remove this difficulty, *aviciṇṇanalṅitsu* is interpreted as a *paryudāsa*.Thus, although *guṇa* is prohibited by P. 7.3.85, it may still be applied by P. 7.3.84.

8. Finally, the *KV*, referring to *Vt*. IV on the rule, suggests another way out of the difficulty posed by *ajāgarus* and *jajāgara*, even while admitting *prasajyapratiṣedha. This is done* by referring to *PN*, *pbh*. 61. This *pbh*. says *anantarasya vidhir vā bhavati pratiṣedho vā* 'a rule either prescribes or forbids only what is nearest to it (in another rule).' The idea is that in *jāgraḥ aviciṇṇalṅitsu* we have two rules, one (*jāghraḥ*) which prescribes, and one (*aviciṇṇalṅitsu*) which prohibits. In relation to *aviciṇṇalṅitsu*, *jāghraḥ* is the nearest rule. Consequently, the *guṇa* prohibited by *aviciṇṇalṅitsu* only concerns P. 7.3.85, *jāghraḥ*. *Guṇa* prescribed by other rules, P. 7.3.83 and 84, is not prohibited.

9. We have nine *Vts* on the rule. *Vt.* I says that since otherwise the prohibition of *guṇa* for *CiṆ* and *ṆaL* would be meaningless, elsewhere the prohibition of *vṛddhi* concerns (a vowel) to which *guṇa* has been applied (by P. 7.3.85). "Elsewhere" means in *ajāgāri* and *jajāgāra*

P. 7.3.85 specially prohibits *guṇa* of the final vowel of *jāgṛ-* before *CiṆ* and *ṆaL*. That prevents the formation of forms like **ajāgari* and **jajāgara*. But we could have derived the desired forms *ajāgāri* and *jajāgāra* by first applying *guṇa* by P. 7.3.85, and then applying *upadhā-vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116. However, that would make the prohibition of *guṇa* by P. 7.3.85 redundant. Therefore, as Patañjali explains, this prohibition gives us the clue that *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116 is not to be applied.after the application of *guṇa*.

Vts II-VIII deal with the interpretation of the *nañsamasa aviciṇṇalṅitsu*. *Vt.* II and III say that, if we adopt the *prasajyapratiṣedha*-interpretation, we will have a difficulty in *ajāgaruḥ* and the pf. 1st sg. *jajāgara*. See under 7, above. *Vt.* IV suggests a way out by referring to *PN*, *pbh.* 61. See under 8, above.

Vts V-VI work out details of the way suggested by *Vt.* IV. *Vt.* V says that we have a prescription of *guṇa* before *Jus* by the preceding rule P. 7.3.83. *Vt.* VI says that we also have a prescription of *guṇa* before *ṆaL* by P. 7.3.84. It cannot be the intention of the prohibition of *guṇa* by P. 7.3.85 to set aside the prescriptions by P. 7.3.83 and 84. Accordingly, we can justify the forms *ajāgarus* and *jajāgara*. See under 7, above.

Vt. VII-VIII deal with the *paryudāsa*-interpretation of *aviciṇṇalṅitsu*. *Vt.* VII means to say that, if we adopt the *paryudāsa*-interpretation (*ato 'nyatra* 'excluding this', i.e., excluding *vi*, *ciṇ*, etc.), while still accepting the *pbh.*, we must phrase a prohibition of *guṇa* (*aguṇatva*) before *vi*. The example quoted by Patañjali is *jāgṛviḥ*. See under 5, above. According to P. 7.3.85, given the *prayudāsa*-interpretation of *aviciṇṇalṅitsu*, *guṇa* is prohibited in the form quoted. But we cannot prohibit *guṇa* by the nearest rule, P. 7.3.84, which would lead to the undesired form **jagarviḥ*. Therefore, to prevent *guṇa* here, a special provision is to be made. *Vt.* VIII rejects this. It says that *guṇa* will be prohibited on the strength of the *paryudāsa*-interpretation. If *guṇa* can still be applied by P. 7.3.84, what is the point in prohibiting it by P. 7.3.85 in the interpretation proposed?

Vt. IX is an *iti ced Vt.* It says that, if it is argued that *vi* (in *aviciṇṇalṅiṣṭu*) is for the sake of *v*, that is, if the *i* is merely added for ease of pronunciation, and if *v* is interpreted as *v-ādi* '(a suffix) beginning with *v*' by the *tadādividhi* (*Vt.* XXIX

on P. 1.1.72), then we can manage (to prohibit *guṇa*) on account of (the suffix concerned in *jāgṛvān*) being a *sārvadhātuka* suffix. According to Patañjali,l reference is to the Vedic suffix *KvasU* (P. 3.2.107). See further under 6, above (derivation of *jāgṛvān*).

7.3.86 PUGANTALAGHŪPADHASYA CA 'also (a *guṇa* vowel comes) in place of (the *iK* vowel of a verbal base *aṅga*) which ends in *pUK* or which has a prosodically short prefinal vowel, (if a *sārvadhātuka* or an *ardhadhātuka* suffix follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *guṇa* vowel for the vowel of a verbal base *aṅga* as specified, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *pugantalaghūpadhasya* (*aṅgasya sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*). *PUK* is the augment prescribed by P. 7.3.36 for *ṆiC* bases formed of verbal bases ending in long *ā* The function of the *anubandha K* has been defined by P. 1.1.46. *Puganta* is a *bv.* cp. *Laghu* is defined as *hrasva* 'short' by P. 1.4.10. The duration of a short vowel is measured by one *mātrā*, see Allen 1953, p. 82. *Upadhā* is a phoneme in prefinal position of a linguistic unit by P. 1.1.65. *Laghūpadha* is a *bv.* cp. Together, *pugantalaghūpadhasya* is a *samāhāradvandva* cp. formed of two *bv.* cps and qualifying *aṅgasya*. It discontinues *jagraḥ* from P. 7.3.85. On the basis of P. 1.1.3 we supply the word *ikaḥ* in connection with *aṅgasya*. *Ikaḥ* cannot be interpreted as *igantasya* here, because the (*pugantalaghūpadha*) verbal base does not end in an *iK* vowel, but in a consonant. *Aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1, is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with *ikaḥ*. *Sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* is continued from P. 7.4.84. *Aviciṇṇalṅitsu* from P. 7.3.85 is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. It makes only sense in connection with *jāghraḥ*. The *vidheya* is *guṇaḥ*, continued from P. 7.3.82.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *puganta*: *vlepayati* 'he causes to sink down,' *hrepayati* 'he causes to be ashamed,' and *knopayati* 'he causes to creak'

(b) For *laghūpadha*: *bhedanam* 'breaking,' *chedanam* 'cutting,' *bhettā* 'one who breaks/he will break' and *chettā* 'one who cuts/he will cut'

For the *puganta* examples see the derivation of *arpayati* stated in connection with P. 7.3.36. (under 3). *Bhedana* and *chedana* are *LyuṬ* formations by P. 3.3.115 in

the sense of *bhāva* 'action noun.' *Bhettā* and *chettā* are *tṛC* formations by P. 3.1.133 in the sense of agent, or periphr. fut. (*lUṬ*) forms by P. 2.4.85 and P. 3.1.33.

4. Referring to *Ślokavārttika* i on the rule, the *KV* says that *guṇa* on account of *laghūpadha* 'having a short prefival vowel' is not blocked when there is an immediate sequence of two consonants occurring at the beginning of a suffix and as (the final) part of an *aṅga*. Reference is to the examples *bhettā* and *chettā*. Although the prefinal vowel *i* of *bhid-* and *chid-* is short, this not anymore so when the suffix *tṛC* (P. 3.1.133) or *tās* (P. 3.1.33) is added. In *bhid/chid* + *tṛC* or *tās* the *i* has become *guru* 'prosodically long.' Then how can P. 7.3.86 be applied here? The answer by the *KV* says that the immediate sequence of the final consonant of an *aṅga* and the initial consonant of a suffix does not block the application of P. 7.3.86. Referring to *Ślokavārttika* iii on the rule, the *KV*, in support of this view, finds a clue in the addition of the *anubandha K* to the suffix *Knu* (P. 3.2.140) and in the special prescription of *Kittva* for the suffix *saN* (P. 1.2.10). In *Knu* the *K* serves to prevent *guṇa* by P. 7.3.86. One example for P. 3.2.140 is *kṣipnu* 'abusive.' If here the immediate sequence of *p* (*aṅga*-final) and *n* (initial of suffix) would destroy the *laghu*-status of the vowel of *kṣip-*, then why add *K* to *nu*? That would be pointless indeed. Therefore, to make the addition of *K* purposeful, it is assumed that it offers us a clue. The clue is precisely that the immediate sequence of two consonants in final position of an *aṅga* and in initial position of a suffix does not affect the *laghutva* of the verbal base vowel.

P. 1.2.10 prescribes *Kittva* of the desiderative suffix *saN* after a verbal base ending in a consonant. One example is *bibhitsati* 'he wants to break.' Here, if the immediate sequence of *d* (of *bhid-*) and *s* of *saN* would result in the loss of *laghutva* of the verbal base vowel, then why prescribe *Kittva* for *saN* by P. 1.2.10? See further above, in connection with *kṣipnu*.

5. The *KV* then quotes three *Ślokavts.* from Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on the rule, for which see under 8.

6. The *KV* notes that the word *upadhā* in *laghūpadhasya* in P. 7.3.86 implies *iK*. That is to say, the prefinal short vowel of the verbal base *aṅga* must be an *iK* vowel. That is the reason why in *bhinatti guṇa* is not applied. Here the verbal base *aṅga* assumes the form *bhi-na-d* before the ending *tiP* by P. 3.4.78. The prefinal *a* of the *aṅga bhi-na-d* is not an *iK* vowel.

Another reason, not mentioned by tradition, is that the *vikaraṇa ŚnaM* (P. 3.1.78) is *Śit* and, therefore, *sārvadhātuka* by P. 3.4.113. Consequently, it is *Ṅit* by

P. 1.2.4. Now, if P. 1.1.5 is interpreted to mean that before a *Ṅit* suffix *guṇa* is not to be applied, we can also justify the form *bhinatti*, even though the *iK* vowel does not ocur in prefinal position.

7. The *KV* finally mentions that some grammartians referred to as *apare* 'others' have a different view regarding the term *pugantalaghūpadha*. They do not derive it as a *dvandva* of two *bv.* cps, but as a *dvandva* of a *tp.* cp. and a *kdh.* cp. First, *puganta* is derived as *puki antaḥ* '(a phoneme) which is the final before *pUK*.' Then *laghūpadhā* is derived (by P. 2.1.57) as *laghvî upadhā* 'a short prefinal vowel.' The *dvandva* itself is formed as *pugantaś ca laghūpadhā ca, pugantalaghūpadam*. Shortening of the final *ā* of *upadhā* is by P. 1.2.47. From the constituent *laghūpadhā* it is clear that the short *iK* vowel in prefinal position of the *aṅga* must be gunated. So there is no difficulty in preventing P. 7.3.85 from applying *guṇa* to the *i* of *bhinatti* where *a* is in prefinal position.

8. We have no *Vts* on the rule, but there is a *bhāṣya*. Here Patañjali quotes and briefly comments on three *Ślokavts*. When translated literally they form a seemingly incoherent complex of objections and answers. A great deal of knowledge implied by the author has to be supplied to make the text intelligible to a modern reader. *Ślokavt*. i says the following: '(Objection I) Since we have the designation *guru* 'prosodically long' (of a vowel) before a consonant groep, we cannot justify *guṇa* (by P. 7.3.86) in the case of *bhettṛ* 'one who breaks.' (Answer) *Vidhyapekṣaṃ laghoś cāsau*. (Objection II:) (If you argue in this way, then) how can (the verbal base quoted as) *kuṇḍi-* "to burn" be free from defect?

How to translate and interpret the answer? Patañjali explains as follows: *vidhyapekṣaṃ laghugrahaṇaṃ kṛtaṃ laghoś cāsau vihitaḥ* 'this mention of *laghu* is *vidhyapekṣa*, and that (*asau*, sg. nom. masc.) is added after (what is called) *laghu*.' Kaiyaṭa explains as follows: (On *vidhyapekṣam*) *Guṇavidhānam iti śeṣaḥ. Laghūpadhād ye vihite sārvadhātukārdhadhātuke tayor aṅgasya guṇa ity arthaḥ* 'supply: the prescription of *guṇa*. That is to say, *guṇa* (is applied) to the *aṅga* of a *sārvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhutuka* suffix which are added after what is *laghūpadha*.' Kaiyaṭa's explanation is literally repeated by the *Padamañjari*. Ṅāgeśa further explains that by the word *laghugrahaṇa* in the *bhāṣya* the *guṇa*-prescription is understood.

What to make of all this? It seems clear that *vidhyapekṣam* is a separate utterance which requires a supplement. Patañjali supplies *laghugrahaṇaṃ kṛtam*, and seems to have no difficulty with the word *vidhyapekṣa*. He does not explain the phrase *laghoś cāsau*. Kaiyaṭa supplies *guṇavidhānam* and interprets *vidhyapekṣaṃ guṇavidhānam* to mean that *guṇa* is applied to that *aṅga* after which, being

laghūpadha, a sārva° or ārdhadhātuka suffix is added. Thereby the phrase laghoś cāsau is also explained. Asau is taken to refer to guṇa in connection with which the gen. aṅgasya is supplied. Laghoḥ is interpreted as laghūpadhāt, an abl. qualifying aṅgāt which is understood. We will take vidhyapekṣa to mean 'in anticipation of a grammatical operation.' Here the grammatical operation is taken to refer to the addition of a suffix. An aṅga requires a suffix. That is to say, guṇa is applied to that aṅga after which a suffix is to be added, but which is laghūpadha before the suffix is actually added. Accordingly, we translate the answer in Ślokavārttika i as follows: '(We can manage because) that (prescription of guṇa concerns that aṅga) after (which, being a) laghu(-upadha aṅga, a sārva- or ārdhadhātuka suffix is added).' In short, for the guṇa operation to take place we have to take into account that form of the aṅga in which it appears before a suffix is added.

For the first objection see under 4, above. The difficulty in bhettṛ (bhid + tṛC/tās) is formed by the consonant group which has come into existence after the addition of the suffix, and which prevents the designation laghu for the i of bhid. To remove this difficulty, the Ślokavārttikakāra introduces the term vidhyapekṣa. By introducing this term the Ślokavārttikakāra can only mean that in order to decide whether the verbal base is laghūpadha or not we have to take into account the form of the aṅga after which a suffix is added, but before any grammatical operation with regard to the aṅga is performed. In other words, we take into account the original form of the aṅga.

The aṅga, here a verbal base aṅga, is bhid. It is laghūpadha. Therefore P. 7.3.86 applies. As examples for the second objection Patañjali quotes the forms kuṇḍitā 'one who burns' and huṇḍitā 'one who heaps together.' The verbal base concerned is kuḍ- (kuḍI-, Dhp.I.289). This verbal base also is laghūpadha. So, why not adopt the vidhyapekṣa-view and apply guṇa by P. 7.3.86? The answer is stated by the following Ślokavārttika.

Ślokavt. ii says the following: (Answer) (Because we have a rule prescribing the augment) nUM for the verbal base (kuḍ-). (Objection III) (Then) what about (vṛddhi of the verbal base quoted as) rañji- "to colour"? '(Answer) (Vṛddhi is applied because of nipātana for (the verbal bases quoted as) syandi- "to flow" and śranthi- "to become loose." (Objection IV). The deletion of (a in) anAṄ (by P. 6.4.134) and the lengthening before (the pl. ntr. sarvanāmasthāna ending) Śi (by P.6.4.8) which are vidhyapekṣa cannot be established.'

As explained by Patañjali, the answer to the second objection is that, according to P. 7.1.59, verbal bases marked with I take the augment nUM. This rule

already applies to the original form of the verbal base, as assumed in the *upadeśa*. In other words, the *n* becomes *upadeśivat* 'to be treated like an element belonging to the *upadeśa*.' See *Vt*. I on P. 7.1.58,. and *AP* X, p.121. Thus for purposes of derivation *kuḍ*- and *huḍ*- will be appear as *ku-ṇ-ḍ* and *hu-ṇ-ḍ*. When *tṛC* is added, we derive the form *kuṇḍitṛ* and *huṇḍitṛ*. No question of applying *guṇa* here by P. 7.3.86, because the verbal bases in their original form are not *laghūpadha* before a suffix is added.

As explained by Patañjali, the third objection concerns the application of *vṛddhi* in the form *rāga* 'red colouring.' The examples quoted are *āścaryo rāgaḥ* 'an amazing redness' and *vicitro rāgaḥ* 'a wonderful red colouring.' *Rāga* is a *GHaÑ*-derivation from *ranjA*- (*Dhp*. 1.1048) by P. 3.3.18. According to P. 7.2.116, *vṛddhi* is applied to the prefinal *a* of a verbal base ending in a consonant before a suffix marked with Ñ. But in *ranj*- the *a* is not in prefinal position before *GHaÑ* is added. Then how to apply *vṛddhi* in *rāga*? The answer points out that for *syand*- and *ṁranth*- the *nipātanas syad* and (*pra*-)*śrath* are found. in P. 6.4.28 and 29. On the analogy of these two *nipātana* forms the *Ślokavārttikakāra* assumes a *nipātana* form for *ranj*- also, namely, *raj*-. This is the verbal base form to which *vṛddhi* is applied by P. 7.2.116. Thus the *vidhyapekṣa*-view is vindicated.

Objection IV points out that the *vidhyapekṣa*-view does not always work. As examples for this objection Patañjali quotes the forms *dadhnā* 'by means of curds 'and *śakthnā* 'by means of a thigh bone' for the *anAṄ* deletion, and *kuṇḍāni* 'pitchers' and *vanāni* 'forests' for the lengthening before *Śi*. The rule for the *anAṄ* deletion is P. 6.3.134. It says that the short *a* of a *bha* stem which is *nānta* 'ending in *an*' is replaced by zero. A nominal stem is called *bha* before a case ending beginning with a vowel, except an ending called *sarvanāmasthāna*, by P. 1.4.18. One example is the form *rājñā* 'by the king.' The noun base form is *rājan*, which ends in *n*. In the case of *dadhnā* the noun base form is *dadhi*, which ends in *i*. Here, according to P. 7.1.75, the final *i* is replaced by *anAṄ* before the instrum. case ending. The result of this operation is *dadhan*. Only then P. 6.1.134 becomes applicable for the zero-substitution of the *a* of *an*. The result is *dadh°n*, just like *rāj°n*. But the difficulty envisaged by objection IV is that in the case of *rājan* P. 6.3.134 is applied to a noun base which is *nānta* 'ending in *n*' already before any suffix is added, whereas in the case of *dadhan* the same rule is applied to a *nānta* stem which has come into existence due to a grammatical operation. Thus it seems that here the *vidhyapekṣa*-view does not work.

The same argument is applied in connection with P. 6.4.8. This rule says that a long vowel comes in place of the prefinal vowel of an *aṅga* ending in *n* before

a *sarvanāmasthāna* ending except the sg. voc. One example is *nāmāni* 'names.' The form of the noun base is *nāman*, which ends in *n* already before a *sarvanāmasthāna* suffix is added. But P. 6.4.8 also applies in *vanāni*. The form of the noun base here is *vana*, which is *akārānta*. The *n* is added only after the application of two rules, P. 7.1.20, which substitutes *i* for *Jas* after a ntr. stem, and P. 7.1.72, which inserts the augment *nUM*. So here also the *vidhyapekṣa*-view does not work. The *Ślokavārttikakāra* does not attempt to refute the objection.

Ślokavarttikā iii says the following: The fact that (the *sūtrakāra* says *aci* 'if (a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with) a vowel follows immediately' in connection with (an *aṅga*) which is *abhyasta* 'reduplicated,' that is done for the sake of *lAṄ*(-derivations). The *Kittva* attributed to (the suffix) *Knu* (P. 3.2.140) and to (the desiderative suffix) *saN* (P. 3.1.10) offers a clue regarding *guṇa* for a *laghu* vowel.'

Patañjali explains that the first part of *Ślokavt.* iii refers to P. 7.3.87. This rule says that *guṇa* is not applied to the *laghu* prefinal vowel of the reduplicated verbal base *aṅga*, if a *sārvadhātuka* suffix follows which begins with a vowel and which is *Pit*. One example quoted for P. 7.3.87 by the *KV* is the imp. 1st sg. *nenijāni* 'let me clean.' The verbal base is *nij-* (*Dhp.* 3.11, *ṆijiR-*). The *sārvadhātuka* imp. ending *āni* (P. 3.4.89) begins with a vowel, and is *Pit* because the augment *ā* (in *ā* + *ni*) is *Pit*. So *guṇa* for the verbal base vowel is prohibited by P. 7.3.87. But in the present 3rd sg. *nenekti guṇa* is not prohibited. Here the *sārvadhātuka* suffix *tiP* is not *ajādi* 'beginning with a vowel.' In fact, it is *halādi* 'beginning with a consonant.' To suspend the prohibition of *guṇa*, *aci* has been mentioned in P. 7.3.87 That makes good sense. But the idea of the *Śloka-vārttikakāra* is that the mention of *aci* in P. 7.3.86 is redundant. The argument behind this idea is as follows.

In *nij* + *nij* + *tiP* the *i* of the *abhyasta* form *nij* is not *laghu*. For the sake of the argument we will now assume that the *i* is *guru* because of the following consonant group *j* + *t*. It follows that *guṇa* by P. 7.3.86 is not applicable. Still, to prevent it, P. 7.3.87 says *aci*. That can only be meaningful, if we assume that *aci* has been mentioned to suspend the prohibition of *guṇa* in the impf. The example quoted is the impf. 3rd sg. *anenek* 'he cleaned.'

The *prakriyā* of the impf. 3rd sg. *anenek* is as follows:

(1)	*ṆijIR-*	*Dhp.* 3.11
(2)	*nij-*	P. 6.1.65

(3)	*nij*		+ *lAṄ*	P. 3.2.110
(4)	*aṬ* + *nij*		+ *lAṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(5)	*a* + *nij*		+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(6)	*a* + *nij*	+ *ŚaP*	+ *ti*	P. 3.1.78
(7)	*a* + *nij*	+ °	+ *ti*	P. 2.4.75 (*Ślu*)
(8)	*a* + *nij* + *nij*		+ *ti*	P. 6.1.10
(9)	*a* + *nij* + *nij*		+ *t*°	P. 3.4.100
(10)	*a* + *nej* + *nij*		+ *t*	P. 7.4.75
(11)	*a* + *ne*° + *nij*		+ *t*	P. 7.4.59
(12)	*a* + *ne* + *nij*		+ °	P. 6.1.68
(13)	*a* + *ne* + *nej*			P. 7.3.86
(15)	*a* + *ne* + *nek*			P. 8.2.30
	anenek.			

At stage (12) two rules become applicable simultaneously, P. 7.3.86 for *guṇa* of the verbal base *aṅga*, and P. 6.1.68 for the deletion of the ending *t*. According to the *siddha*-principle (see *AP* II, Introduction, p. vi-ix), the environment changing rule prevails. In our case, this is P. 6.1.68. However, by P. 1.1.62, grammatical operations dependent on the presence of *t* still remain in force. For operational purposes the *t* is still there. The ending *t*, being the replacement of *tiP*, is a *Pit sārvadhātuka* suffix. Therefore *guṇa* would be prohibited by P. 7.3.87. Still, *guṇa* is desired. To have it, *aci* has been stated in P. 7.3.87. That is to say, P. 7.3.87 only disallows *guṇa*, if the *Pit sārvadhātuka* suffix begins with a vowel.

For the second part of *Ślokavt*. iii see under 4, above.

9. In order to show the thread running through the arguiment of the *Ślokavārttikakāra* it may be useful to summarize the difficulties discussed in the *Ślokavārttikas* on the basis of examples quoted by Patañjali.

(1) The example is *bhettṛ*. The question is, how to justify *guṇa* of the verbal base vowel by P. 7.3.86. The difficulty is that in the derivation *bhid* + *tṛC* the consonant group *d* + *t* makes the verbal vowel *guru*. To solve the difficulty, the *Ślokavārttikakāra* introduces the term *vidhyapekṣa*. This is taken to mean that to decide the *upadhālaghutva* of the verbal base concerned we have to take into account the form of the verbal base before any suffix is added. The verbal base is *bhid*-. The verbal base vowel is *laghu*. Therefore P. 7.3.86 is applicable.

(2) The example is *kuṇḍitṛ*. The question is, how to justify the non-application of *guṇa* considering that the vowel of the verbal base *kuḍ*- to which the *guṇa*

operation is applicable is *laghu*. The difficulty is precisely the assumption of *vidhyapekṣatva*. To solve the difficulty, the *Ślokavārttikakāra* implicitly refers to *Vt.* I on P. 7.1.58, which declares the *ṇ* inserted in *ku-ṇ-ḍ* to be *upadeśivat* 'to be treated like an element belonging to the *upadeśa*.' Thus, for purposes of derivation, the verbal base form is *kuṇḍ*. The verbal base is not *laghūpada*. So *guṇa* by P. 7.3.86 is not applicable.

(3) The example is *rāga*. The question is, how to justify the application of *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116 here, considering that the vowel of the verbal base *rañj-* is not in prefinal position. The difficulty, again, is the *vidhyapekṣa*-view. While adding *GHaÑ* the base *rañj-* is not *laghūpadha*. To solve the difficulty, the *Ślokavārttikakāra* has recourse to *nipātana*. On the analogy of *syad* and *(pra-)śrath* which are *nipātanas* found in P. 6.4.28 and 29 the *nipātana* form *raj* is assumed for *raṇj*. In *raj* the *a* is in prefinal position. Therefore *vṛddhi* by P. 7.2.116 is applicable.

(4) The example is *dadhnā*. The question is, how to justify the *anAṄ*-deletion by P. 6.3.134 here, considering that *dadhi*, unlike *rājan*, is an *ikārānta* nominal base. Here the *vidhyapekṣa*-view does not work.

(5) The example is *vanāni*. The question is, how to justify the vowel lengthening by P. 6.4.8 here, considering that *vana*, unlike *nāman*, does not end in *n*.

(6) The example is *anenek*. The question is, how to justify *guṇa* of the verbal base vowel. The difficulty is that by the *pratyayalakṣaṇa-pbh.* the vowel is followed by a consonant group (*j* + *t*) which makes the vowel *guru*. To solve the difficulty, the *Ślokavārttikakāra* turns to the mention of the condition *aci* in P. 7.3.87. It is assumed that *aci*, which would be otherwise redundant, offers us a clue, namely, that in the impf. *guṇa* is not prohibited. Therefore *anenek* cannot serve as an example to invalidate the *vidhyapeksa*-view.

(7) In support of the *vidhyapekṣa*-view a clue is found in the fact that the suffixes *Knu* and *saN* are *Kit* The examples (quoted by the *KV*) are *kṣipnu* and *bibhitsati*. The question is how to justify the non-application of *guṇa* by P. 7.3.68 in the examples. One could argue that the occurrence of the consonant groups *p* + *n* and *t* + *s* would do for that purpose, because they turn the verbal base vowel concerned into a *guru* one. But then why add the *anubandha K*? To make this addition purposeful, it is assumed that by itself a group of consonants occurring in final position of a verbal base and in initial position of a suffix does not turn the verbal base vowel into a *guru* one. The argument also applies to forms like *bhettṛ*.

Thus it can be shown that the thread running through the *Ślokavārttikakāra's* discussion is the *vidhyapekṣa*-view. Arguments for and against are provided.

10. The *Nyāsa* does not comment on the *Ślokavārttika's*. The *Padamañjari* simply repeats Kaiyaṭa. But one may ask, is the *vidhyapekṣa*-view really required by way of *paribhāṣā* for the interpretation of P. 7.3.86 and some other rules? Aren't these rules sufficiently clear? We offer the following considerations. *Sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* is a technical loc. in connection with which we supply *pūrvasya* by P. 1.1.66. The *pūrva* element in P. 7.3.86 is *aṅgasya* qualified by (*puganta* and) *laghūpadhasya*. This makes it abundantly clear that the preceding *aṅga* must contain a short vowel in prefinal position. Therefore the difficulty raised in connection with *bhettṛ* should not arise at all. In the case of *dadhnā* and *vanāni* we need not insist on a *bha* stem which is *nānta* for the lengthening to take place. And finally, the *jñapaka* argument in connection with the word *aci* in P. 7.3.87 and the *anubandha* K in *Knu* and *saN* is far from convincing.

7.3.87 NĀBHYASTASYĀCI PITI SĀRVADHĀTUKE '(a *guṇa* vowel does) not (come in place of the short prefinal vowel) of a reduplicated (*aṅga*), if a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a vowel (and) marked with (the *anubandha*) *P* follows immediately'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting the substitution of a *guṇa* vowel in the position indicated, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *abhyastasyą* (*aṅgasya*) *aci piti sārvadhātuke*. According to P. 6.1.5, the term *abhyasta* refers to the whole of the reduplication and the reduplicated verbal base. *Abhyastasya* qualifies *aṅgasya* which is continued from P. 6..4.1. It discontinues *pugantalaghūpadhasya* from P. 7.3.86. In connection with *ikaḥ* supplied on the basis of P. 1.1.3 *aṅgasya* is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī*. *Aci piti sārvadhātuke* discontinues *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* from P. 7.3.84, especially the mention of *ārdhadhātuka*. *Aci* and *piti* are qualifiers of *sārvadhātuke*. *Aci* is interpreted to mean *ajādau* 'if (a *sārvadhātuka* suffix) beginning with a vowel follows immediately' by the *tadādividhi* (*Vt*. XXIX on P. 1.1.72). The *anubandha P* is used in the A. for several purposes. A suffix marked with *P* is *aṅit* by P. 1.2.4, by way of exclusion. Therefore *guṇavṛddhī* are not prohibited by P. 1.1.5, but applied by P. 7.3.84, or 86. *Pit* suffixes are also *anudātta* by P. 3.1.4. *Sārvadhātuke* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. The term *sārvadhātuka* is defined by P. 3.4.113. The *vidheya* is *na* (*guṇaḥ*) where *guṇaḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.82.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are the sg. 1st person imp. forms *nenijāni* 'let me clean,' *vevijāni* 'I must move away (from),' *pariveviṣāṇi* 'let me serve a meal' and the sg. 1st person impf. forms *anenijam* 'I cleaned, ' *avevijam* 'I moved away (from)' and *paryaveviṣam* 'I served food.'

Whitney regards the forms quoted as intensives. For *nij-* and *viṣ-* he (§ 1024) notes that the grammarians reckon the inflection as belonging to the reduplicating present-system with irregularly strengthened reduplication. So also *vij*. The reason is that a marked intensive meaning is not always easy to be traced in the forms classed as intensives.

The *prakriyā* of *nenijāni* is as follows:

(1)		*ṆijIR-*			*Dhp.* 3.2
(2)		*nij*			P. 6.1.65
(3)		*nij*		+ *lOṬ*	P. 3.3.162
(4)		*nij*		+ *miP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)		*nij*	+ *ŚaP*	+ *mi*	P. 3.1.68
(6)		*nij*	+ °	+ *mi*	P. 2.4.75 (*Ślu*)
(7)	*nij* +	*nij*		+ *mi*	P. 6.1.10
(8)	*nij* +	*nij*		+ *ni*	P. 3.4.89
(9)	*nij* +	*nij*	+ *āṬ*	+ *ni*	P. 3.4.92
(10)	*ni°* +	*nij*	+ *a*	+ *ni*	P. 7.4.60
(11)	*ne* +	*nij*	+ *ā*	+ *ni*	P. 7.4.75
	nenijāni.				

In stage (11) *guṇa* of the verbal base vowel is applicable by P.7.3.86. This is prohibited by P. 7.3.87, because the ending *āni* is both *ajādi* and *Pit* (by *pratyaya-lakṣana*, P. 1.1.62). Similarly for *vevijāni* and *pariveviṣāṇi*.

The *prakriyā* of *anenijam* is as follows:

(3)			*nij*		+ *lAṄ*	P. 3.2.110
(4)	*a*		+ *nij*		+ *lAṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(5)	*a*		+ *nij*		+ *miP*	P. 3.4.78
(6)	*a*		+ *nij*+	*ŚaP*+	*miP*	P. 3.4.101
(7)	*a*		+ *nij*+	° +	*mi*	P. 2.4.75 (*Ślu*)
(8)	*a*	+ *nij*	+ *nij*		+ *mi*	P. 6.1.10
(9)	*a*	+ *nij*	+ *nij*		+ *am*	P. 3.4.101
(10)	*a*	+ *ni°*	+ *nij*		+ *am*	P. 7.4.60

(11) *a* + *ne* + *nij* + *am* P. 7.4.75
anenijam.

In stage (11) *guṇa* of the verbal base vowel is applicable by P. 7.3.86. This is prohibited by P. 7.3.87, because the ending *am* is both *ajādi* and *Pit* (by *pratyayalakṣaṇa*, P. 1.1.62). Similarly for *avevijam* and *paryaveviṣam*.

4. To point out the significance of the word *abhyastasya* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample the sg. first person imp. *vedāni* 'let me know.' *Vid-* is a second conjugation class verbal base (*Dhp.* 2.55, *vidA-*). In the derivation the *vikaraṇa ŚaP* is added and deleted by P. 2.4.72. Since *Ślu* is not added, the question of reduplication does not arise. Therefore the prohibition of *guṇa* by P. 7.3.87 for the verbal base vowel is not applicable.

To point out the significance of the word *aci*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *nenekti* 'he cleans.' Since the ending *tiP* is *halādi*, the prohibition of *guṇa* for the verbal base vowel is not applicable. Compare the discussion in P. 7.3.86, under 8 (*Ślokavt*. iii), in connection with the example *anenek*.

The *KV* says that the mention of *piti* in the rule is for the sake of the next rule. In P. 7.3.87 *piti* is not required. Before an *apit sārvadhātuka* suffix, whether beginning with a vowel or beginning with a consonant, *guṇa* is prohibited by P. 1.2.4 and P. 1.1.5.

To point out the significance of the word *sārvadhātuke* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *nineja* 'he has cleaned.' Here *ṆaL* has been added as a replacement of *tiP*. Therefore, by P. 1.1.56, *ṆaL* is *Pit*. Also, *ṆaL* is *ajādi* 'beginning with a vowel.' But *ṆaL* is not a *sārvadhātuka* suffix. It is *ārdhadhātuka* by P. 3.4.115. Therefore the prohibition of *guṇa* by P. 7.3.87 is not applicable.

5. The *KV* emphasizes that P. 7.3.87 prohibits *guṇa* which is applicable by P. 7.3.86 for a *laghūpada* verbal base only. It does not prohibit *guṇa* which is applicable by P. 7.3.84. The counterexamples for P. 7.3.87 quoted by the *KV* are the sg. first person imp. form *juhavāni* 'let me offer an oblation' and the sg. first person impf. form *ajuhavam* 'I offered an oblation.' For the derivation of *juhavāni* compare the one given for *nenijāni*, under 3, above.

6. The *KV* then quotes the beginning of *Vt.* I on the rule in Patañjali' version, and says that the statement is made to justify the Vedic pf. subjunctive form *jujoṣat* '(whoever) may have felt pleasure in...' The form has been borrowed

from a Vedic quotation in Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on *Vt.* II on the rule See further under 7, below. The examples *paspaśāte* 'that the two of them might see repeatedly,' *cākaśīmi* 'I shine brightly' and *vāvaśatī* 'desiring intensely, in heat' (sg. nom. fem.) which show shortening of the prefinal vowel of the verbal base, have been borrowed from *Vt.* I itself. *Paspaśāte* is the du. 3rd person pres. subj. of the intensive of *spaś-* (*Dhp.* 1.936). *Cākaśīmi* is the intensive sg. first person of the verbal base *kāś-* (*Dhp.* 1.678). For the verbal base *cakāś* see Whitney, § 677. *Vāvaśati* is a fem present participle form of the intensive of *vaṁ-* (*Dhp.* 2.70). The *KV* notes that shortening of the prefinal verbal base vowel in the forms quoted is a peculiarity of Vedic forms when *yaṅluk* '*luk*-deletion of (the *ārdhadhātuka* suffix) *yaṄ*' (by P. 2.4.74) is applied.

Silently correcting *Vt.* I the *KV* says that in *paspaśāte* we also (apparently, in addition to shortening of the prefinal verbal base vowel) see shortening of the vowel of the vowel of the reduplication. The correction is due, because *paspaśāte* cannot be an example of *upadhāhrasvatva*, simply because there is no verbal base *spāś-*. See further below, under 7.

7. Finally, the *KV* says that, alternatively, the forms mentioned belong to different verbal bases which are quoted as *spaśi-*, *kaśi-* and *vaśi-*. Therefore the question of shortening of the prefinal verbal base vowel does not arise.

8. We have two *Vts* on the rule. *Vt.* I says that shortening of the prefinal of reduplicated verbal bases takes place if a vowel follows immediately, as is shown in the examples mentioned under 6, above, beginning withg *paspaśāte*. As stated above, under 5, the (wrong) assumption of *Vt.* I is that *paspaśāte* is derived from the (non-existing) verbal base *spāś-* having a long prefinal vowel.

The derivation of *paspaśāte* (from *spaṁ-*) is as follows:

(1)		*spaśA-*				*Dhp.* 1.936
(2)		*spaś*			+ *lEṬ*	P. 3.4.7
(3)		*spaś*			+ *ātām*	P. 3.4.78
(4)		*spaś*	+ *ŚaP*		+ *ātām*	P. 3.1.68
(5)		*spaś*	+ *a*	+ *āṬ*	+ *ātām*	P. 3.4.94
(6)		*spaś*	+ °	+ *a*	+ *ātām*	P. 2.4.76
(7)	*spaś*	+ *spaś*		+ *ā*	+ *ātām*	P. 6.1.10
(8)	*pa*	+ *spaś*		+ *ā*	+ *ātām*	P. 7.4.61
(9)	*pa*	+ *spaś*		+ *ā*	+ *āte*	P. 3.4.79.
(10)	*pa*	+ *spaś*		+ *āte*		P. 6.1.101
	paspaśāte.					

Why the *Vt.* quotes *paspaśāte* as an example for shortening of the prefinal verbal base vowel is not clear. See under 6, above. The *KV* corrects the *Vt.* by saying that it is also an example for shortening of the vowel of the reduplication.

The near-identical form *pāspaśāte* can be derived as a *yaṅluk* formation, as follows:

(2)	*spaś* + *yaN*	P. 3.1.22
(3)	*spaś* + *spaś* + *ya*	P. 6.1.9
(4)	*pa* + *spaś* + *ya*	P. 7.4.61
(5)	*pa* + *spaś* + *ya* + *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(6)	*pa* + *spaś* + *ya* + *ātām*	P. 3.4.78
(6)	*pa* + *spaś* + *ya* + *ŚaP* + *ātām*	P. 3.1.68
(7)	*pa* + *spaś* + *ya* + ° + *ātām*	*carkarītaṃ ca* (*gaṇasūtra, Dhp.* 2.71)
(8)	*pa* + *spaś* + ° + *ātām*	P. 2.4.74
(9)	*pa* + *spaś* + *āte*	P. 3.4.79
(10)	*pā* + *spaś* + *āte*	P. 7.4.83
	pāspaśāte.	

Here, as assumed by the *KV*, (irregular) shortening of the vowel of the reduplication has resulted in the form *paspaśāte*.

P. 7.3.87 prescribes *guṇapratiṣedha* of the prefinal verbal base vowel on certain conditions. *Vt.* I introduces a different idea, namely, *upadhāhrasvatva* 'shortening of the prefinal verbal base vowel' for which three examples are quoted, including *paspaśāte*. Could it have been the intention of the *Vārttikakāra* here to suggest that, instead of proceeding by *guṇapratiṣedha* according to P. 7.3.87, we should go by *upadhāhrasvatva*? Consider the example *nenijāni*. Here *guṇa* is applicable to the prefinal verbal base vowel by P. 7.3.86. So let us apply *guṇa*. That gives us **nenejāni*. If here *upadhāhrasvatva* is applied, we derive the desired form *nenijāni*. At the same time, we can justify the forms *cākaśīmi* and *vāvaśatī*. But why has *paspaśāte* been mentioned as an example for *upadhāhrasvatva*?

Vt. II says that shortening of the prefinal verbal base vowel is applied variously in the Veda, as is shown in *ānuṣag jujoṣat*. Patañjali provides the full Vedic quotation *yas ta ātithyam ānuṣag jujoṣat* 'whoever has enjoyed your hospitality time and again' (Ṛg V. 4.4.10).

Whitney, § 533. has already noted the great difference between the language of the Vedas and classical Sanskrit in respect to mode formations. That is reflected in the A. which outside the present system offers no derivational procedure for mood formations. Compare also Kiparsky 1979, p. 57, who says that the ten *lakāras* are an appropriate device to present the verb system of Classical Sanskrit, but fail in respect of the tense and mood system of the Vedic language. We can, therefore, dispense with the derivation of *jujosat*. The verbal base concerned is mentioned in the *Dhp.* (No. 6.8) as *jusĪ*-.

9. At the end of his *bhāṣya* Patañjali quotes a usage to illustrate the prohibition of *guṇa* for the prefinal verbal base vowel. The usage reads *priyāṃ mayūraḥ pratinarnṛtīti/yadvat tvaṃ naravara narnṛtīṣi hṛṣṭaḥ* 'the peacock dances and dances towards his beloved in that manner in which you, o excellent man, dance and dance with joy.' Source unidentified. Patañjali explains that here *guṇa* by P. 7.3.86 has a chance, but is not desired. It should be prohibited. But *Vt.* I cannot justify this by assuming *laghūpadhahrasvatva*, because the question of shortening in *nṛt*- simply does not arise. Here we can manage very well by the *guṇapratiṣedha* of P. 7.3.87.

7.3.88 BHŪSUVOS TIṄI '(a *guṇa* vowel does not come) in place of (the final vowel of the verbal base *aṅgas bhū*- "to become" and *sū*- "to give birth," if (a *sārvadhātuka* suffix called) *tiṄ* follows immediately (which is marked with *P*)'

1. This is a *pratiṣedhasūtra*, prohibiting the substitution of a *guṇa* vowel for the final vowel of two specified verbal bases, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *bhūsuvoḥ* (*aṅgayoḥ*) *tiṅi* (*piti sārvadhātuke*). Here *bhūsuvoḥ* discontinues *abhyastasya* from P. 7.3.87. *Bhū*- and *sū*- are the verbal bases mentioned in the *Dhp*.1.1 and 2.21. In *bhūsuvoḥ uvAṄ-ādeśa* is applied by P. 6.4.77. This is the Pāṇinian way to account for the insertion of a glide in the sequence *ū* + *a* with simultaneous shortening of the preceding vowel. Compare *bhuvaḥ* in P. 6.4.88. For glides see further Allen 1953, p. 68-69. *Bhūsuvoḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgayoḥ*. The word *aṅgayoḥ* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Tiṅi* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.61. It discontinues *aci piti* from P. 7.3.87. *TiṄ* is the *pratyāhāra* 'abbreviative designation' of the personal endings summed up in P. 3.4.78. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *sārvadhātuke*, which is continued from P. 7..3.87. *Piti* is continued from 7.3.87. The *vidheya* is (*na guṇaḥ*), continued from P. 7.3.87 (*na*) and 7.3.82 (*guṇaḥ*).

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *bhū-*: *abhūt* 'he became,' *abhūḥ* 'you (sg.) became,' and *abhūvam* 'I became'

(b) For *sū-*: *suvai* 'let me give birth,' *suvāvahai* 'let the two of us give birth' and *suvāmahai* 'let us give birth.' The *KV* adds that reference is to the 2nd conjugation class verbal base *sū-* in which the *vikaraṇa* is *luk*-deleted (by P. 2.4.72). This is in accordance with *PN*, *pbh*. 90, which says that, if we have the choice between verbal bases whose *vikaraṇa* is *luk*-deleted and whose *vikaraṇa* is not *luk*-deleted, we should select the first ones. The point is that *sū-* is mentioned in the *Dhp*. under the nos. 2.21, 4.24 and 6.125. The second conjugation class verb *sūṄ-* is a *Ṅit* base, and therefore takes *ātm*. endings by P. 3.1.12. None of the *ātm*. endings are *Pit*. Therefore they are *Ṅit* by P. 1.2.4, and *guṇavṛddhī* are prohibited by P. 1.1.5. However, the first persons of the imp. take the augment *āṬ* which is *Pit* by P. 3.4.92, and these are the forms taken as examples by the *KV* to show the prohibition of *guṇa*.

The derivation of *abhūvam* is as follows:

(1)	*bhū-*		*Dhp*. 1.1
(2)	*bhū*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.2.110
(3)	*a* + *bhū*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(4)	*a* + *bhū*	+ *miP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*a* + *bhū* + *ClI*	+ *mi*	P. 3.1.43
(6)	*a* + *bhū* + *sIC*	+ *mi*	P. 3.1.44
(7)	*a* + *bhū* + °	+ *mi*	P. 2.4.77
(8)	*a* + *bhū*	+ *am*	P. 3.4.101
(9)	*a* + *bhū*	+ *vUK* + *am*	P. 6.4.88
	abhūvam.		

In stage (8) *guṇa* is applicable by P. 7.3.84. This is prohibited by P. 7.3.88.

The derivation of *suvai* is as follows:

(1)	*ṣūṄ* -		*Dhp*. 2.21
(2)	*sū*	+ *lOṬ*	P. 3.4.162
(3)	*sū*	+ *e*	P. 3.4.78; 79
(4)	*sū*	+ *ai*	P. 3.4.90
(5)	*sū*	+ *āṬ* + *ai*	P. 3.4.92
(6)	*sū*	+ *ai*	P. 6.1.90
(7)	*suv*	+ *ai*	P. 6.4.77

suvai.

At stage (6) *guṇa* becomes applicable by P. 7.3.84, because the ending *ai* is *Pit* by P. 3.4.92. This is prohibited by P. 7.3.88. Therefore P. 6.4.77 can be applied.

4. The *KV* points out that in *suvati* and *sūyati* 'she gives birth,' which are derived from the sixth and fourth conjugation class verb *sū-*, a *vikaraṇa* intervenes between the verbal base and the the *tiṄ* ending. The *vikaraṇas* concerned are *Śa* and *ŚyaN* (P. 3.1.77 and 3.1.69) respectively. But here P. 7.3.88 is not required to prohibit *guṇa*. The reason is that these *vikaraṇas* are *apit*. Therefore they become *Ṅit* by P. 2.1.4, and *guṇa* is prohibited by P. 1.1.5.

5. To point out the significance of the condition *tiṅi* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *bhavati* 'he becomes.' Here the ending *tiP*, which is *sārvadhātuka* and *Pit*, does not follow immediately after the verbal base, because the *vikaraṇa ŚaP* (P. 3.1.68) intervenes. Therefore the prohibition of *guṇa* by P. 7.3.88 does not apply.

6. The *KV* emphasizes that the *guṇapratiṣedha* by P. 7.3.88 applies only, if the following suffix is *sārvadhātuka*. The counterexample quoted is *vyatibhaviṣīṣṭa* 'may he compete with (someone).' This is an *āśīrliṄ* form by P. 3.3.173. The *āśīrliṄ* endings are *ārdhadhātuka* by P. 3.4.116.

The derivation of (*vi+ati-*) *bhaviṣīṣṭa* is as follows:

(1)	*bhū-*					*Dhp.* 1.1
(2)	*bhū*				+ *lIṄ*	P. 3.3.173
(3)	*bhū*				+ *ta*	P. 3.4.78
(4)	*bhū*		+ *sīyUṬ*		+ *ta*	P. 3.4.102
(5)	*bhū*		+ *sīy*	+ *sUṬ*	+ *ta*	P. 3.4.107
(6)	*bhū*	+ *iT*	+ *sīy*	+ *s*	+ *ta*	P. 7.2.35
(7)	*bho*	+ *i*	+ *sīy*	+ *s*	+ *ta*	P. 7.3.84
(8)	*bhav*	+ *i*	+ *sīy*	+ *s*	+ *ta*	P. 6.1.78
(9)	*bhav*	+ *i*	+ *sī°*	+ *s*	+ *ta*	P. 6.1.66
(10)	*bhav*	+ *i*	+ *ṣī*	+ *ṣ*	+ *ta*	P. 8.2.39 (twice)
(11)	*bhav*	+ *i*	+ *ṣī*	+ *ṣ*	+ *ṭa*	P. 8.4.41
	bhaviṣīṣṭa.					

In stage (5) the ending *ta* is *ārdhadhātuka* by P. 3.4.116. *SīyUṬ* and *sUṬ* are augments, so the whole unit *sīyUṬ* + *sUṬ* + *ta* becomes *ārdhadhātuka* by *PN, pbh.*

11. That holds good also for the sequence *i* + *sīy* + *s* + *ta* in stage (6). This being so, the *guṇapratiṣedha* by P. 7.3.88 does not apply. *Guṇa* of the verbal base vowel is applied by P. 7.3.84.

7. Referring to *Vt*. I on the rule, the *KV* asks, why doesn't the *guṇapratiṣedha* by P. 7.3.88 apply in the intensive (*yaṅluk*) form *bobhavîti* 'he becomes again and again'? The answer is that this is so because of a clue offered by a Vedic *nipātana* form. P. 7.4.65 mentions the Vedic intensive sg. 3rd person imp. form *bobhūtu* 'let him become again and again' as a *nipātana* 'ready-made form.' Here *guṇa* is not applied to the verbal base vowel. See further under 8.

The derivation of *bobhavîti* is as follows:

(2)	*bhū* + *yaṄ*	P. 3.1.22
(3)	*bhū* + *bhū* + *ya*	P. 6.1.9
(4)	*bhū* + *bhū* + *ya* + *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(5)	*bhū* + *bhū* + *ya* + *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(6)	*bhū* + *bhū* + *ya* + *ŚaP* + *ti*	P. 3.1.68
(7)	*bhū* + *bhū* + *ya* + *a* + *īṬ* + *ti*	P. 7.3.94
(7)	*bhū* + *bhū* + *ya* + ° + *ī* + *ti*	*carkarītaṃ ca* (*gaṇasūtra* on *Dhp*. 2.71).
(8)	*bhū* + *bhū* + ° + *ī* + *ti*	P. 2.4.74
(9)	*bho* + *bhū* + *ī* + *ti*	P. 7.4.82
(10)	*bho* + *bho* + *ī* + *ti*	P. 7.3.84
(11)	*bho* + *bhav* + *ī* + *ti*	P. 7.1.78
(12)	*bo* + *bhav* + *ī* + *ti*	P. 8.4.54
	bobhavīti.	

In stage (11) *guṇa* of the verbal base vowel is prohibited by P. 7.3.88, because *bhū* is followed by *ti*. Still, we apply *guṇa* because the Vedic form *bobhūtu* in which *guṇa* is not applied is assumed to offer a clue to the contrary. Elsewhere in *yaṅluk* formations *guṇa* is allowed. See further under 8.

8. We have one *Vt*. on the rule. It says that mention of *bhū*- and *sū*- as verbal bases containing one single vowel should be made to justify the application of *guṇa* in the form *bobhavīti* 'he becomes again and again.' The point is that the intensive verbal base *bobhū*- is disyllabic, and thus falls outside the purview of P. 7.3.88, which prohibits *guṇa*.

Patañjali's idea is different. He explains that, since the non-application of *guṇa* is shown in *bobhūtu*, which is a Vedic *yaṅluk nipātana*, we understand that the mention of *bobhūtu* has the character of a *niyama* 'restriction.' That is to say, we understand that this non-application of *guṇa* here holds for the sg. imp. lonly, not elsewhere. Accordingly, in a *yaṅluk* form *guṇa* is applicable. This is the clue assumed to be offered by *bobhūtu*.

7.3.89 UTO VṚDDHIR LUKI HALI 'a *vṛddhi* vowel (comes) in place of (the final vowel of a verbal base *aṅga*) ending in short *u*, (if a *sārvadhātuka* suffix) beginning with a consonant (and marked with *P*) follows immediately (and) if *luk*(-deletion takes place)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *vṛddhi* vowel for short *u* in final position of a verbal base, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *uto* (*aṅgasya*) *luki hali* (*piti sārvadhātuke*). The function of the *anubandha T* is defined by P. 1.1.72. *Utaḥ* qualifies *aṅgasya* and is interpreted to mean *ud-antasya* 'of (a verbal base) ending in short u' by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). *Aṅgasya* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. The *vṛddhi* vowel comes in place of the final phonem of the *sthānin* by P. 1.1.52. *Luk* is defined by P. 1.1.61. *Luk*-deletion (in distinction from *lopa*) is applied to a suffix. The suffix meant in the present rule is the *vikaraṇa ŚaP* (P. 3.1.68). The *KV* explains *luki* as a loc. abs. (*luki sati*). *HaL* is the *pratyāhāra* 'abbreviative designation' of a consonant. *Hali* qualifies *sārvadhātuke* and is interpreted to mean *halādau* by the *tadādividhi* (*Vt.* XXIX on P. 1.1.72) *Piti* is continued from P. 7.3.87. The *vidheya* is *vṛddhiḥ*. The term *vṛddhi* is defined by P. 1.1.1. *Vṛddhiḥ* cancels *guṇaḥ* from P. 7.3.88. The particle *na* from P. 7.3.88 is discontinued because P. 7.3.89 introduces a new *vidheya*. See *FANU*, p. 274, convention 40.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *yu-* 'to join': *yauti* 'he joins,' *yauṣi* 'you (sg.) join' and *yaumi* 'I join'
(b) Fur *nu-* 'to sound loud': *nauti, nauṣi* and *naumi*
(c) For *stu-* 'to praise': *stauti, stauṣi* and *staumi*

The *prakriyā* of *yauti* is as follows:

(1) *yu-*		*Dhp.* 2.27
(2) *yu*	+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3) *yu*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(4) *yu* + *ŚaP* + *ti*		P. 3.1.68

(5) *yu* + °	+ *ti*	P. 2.4.72
(6) *yau*	+ *ti*	P. 7.3.89
yauti.		

4. To point out the significance of the word *utaḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *eti* 'he goes,' *esi* 'you go' and *emi* 'I go.' The verbal concerned is *i-* (*Dhp.* 2.36, *iN*). The *vikaraṇa ŚaP* is deleted by P. 2.4.72. *Guṇa* is applied by P. 7.3.84. *Vṛddhi* by P. 7.3.89 is not applied, because *i-* does not end in short *u*.

To point out the significance of the word *luki*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *sunoti* 'he presses (*soma*).' Here the *vikaraṇa Śnu* (P. 3.1.73) is not *luk*-deleted. Therefore *vṛddhi* by P. 7.3.89 is not applied.

To point out the significance of the word *hali*, the *KV* quotes the *par.* first person imp. forms *yavāni* 'let me join' and *ravāṇi* 'let me roar' as counterexamples. Here the augment *āṬ* is inserted before *ni*. Thus the ending begins with a vowel.

The *KV* emphasizes that *vṛddhi* is applied before a *Pit* suffix only. Therefore it is not applied in the past participle forms *yuta* 'joined' and *ruta* 'roared' which are *Kit*. Here P. 1.1.5 prohibits *guṇavṛddhī*.

5. In *api stuyād rājānam* '(I expect) he might be able to praise a king' the opt. ending *yāt* as a whole, including the *t*, is *Ṅit* by P. 3.4.103, although the suffix *t* is *Pit*. The express mention of *ṅic ca* for *yāsUṬ* in P. 3.4.103 is taken to offer the clue that endings which come as substitutes for *Ṅit lakāras* are not *Ṅit*. Thus here *sthānivadbhāva* is not accepted. The *KV* then says that *vṛddhi* is not applied because of the prohibition of *Pittva* by the statement *ṅic ca pin na bhavati* 'and what is *Ṅit* is not *Pit* (and conversely).' The statement goes back to Patañjali. See *AP* II, p. 5. The point is that *yāt* is regarded as *apit*. Therefore it is *Ṅit*, and *vṛddhi* is prohibited by P. 1.1.5. For the special use of the opt. see P. 3.3.154.

6. Finally, the *KV* says that the words *nābhyastasya* from P. 7.3.87 are continued in P. 7.3.89, so that we can justify *yaṅluk* forms like *yoyoti* 'he joins again and again' and *roroti* 'he roars again and again.' Here *vṛddhi* by P. 7.3.89 is not applied, but *guṇa* is, by P. 7.3.84. The augment *īṬ* (P. 7.3.94, *vā*) is optionally not inserted. The preferred forms are *yoyavîti* and *roravîti*. Compare Whitney, § 1004 a.

7. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.90 ŪRṆOTER VIBHĀṢĀ '(a *vṛddhi* vowel comes) as the less preferred option in place of (the short final vowel *u* of the verbal base *aṅga*) *ūrṇu-* "to cover," (if a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant and marked with *P* follows immediately, and if *luk*-deletion takes place)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing *vṛddhi* as a less preferred option for the short *u* in final position of *ūrṇu-*, on the conditions stated. The rule identically repeats P. 7.2.6, which dealt with aor. formations.

2. The *uddeśya* is *ūrṇoteḥ* (*aṅgasya utaḥ luki hali piti sārvadhātuke*). *Ūrṇoti* is the quotation form of the verbal base *ūrṇu-* (*Dhp.* 2.30, *ūrṇuÑ-*) by *Vt.* II on P. 3.3.108. In P. 1.2.3 the form *ūrṇoḥ* is used. For *ūrṇu-* see further *AP* XI, p. 15. *Ūrṇoteḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* with *aṅgasya*, which is continued from P. 6.4.1. *Aṅgasya* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.56, a substitute replaces the final phoneme of the *sthānin*. *Utaḥ luki hali piti sārva-dhātuke* is, in fact, P. 7.3.89, continued as a whole. The *vidheya* is *vibhāṣā* (*vṛddhiḥ*), where *vṛddhiḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.89. For the meaning assigned to *vibhāṣā* see Kiparsky 1979, p. 1.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *prorṇoti/prorṇauti* 'he covers,' *prorṇoṣi/prorṇauṣi* 'you (sg.) cover' and *prorṇomi/prorṇaumi* 'I cover.' The less preferred forms are put in second position. In the preferred forms *guṇa* is applied by P. 7.3.84.

4. The *KV* emphasizes that the rule applies before an ending beginning with a consonant only. The counterexample quoted by the *KV* is the sg. first person imp. *prorṇavāni* 'let me cover.' For the derivation compare the one given for *nenijāni* under P. 7.3.87.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.91 GUṆO 'PṚKTE 'a *guṇa* vowel (comes in place of the final short vowel *u* of the verbal base *aṅga ūrṇu-* "to cover"), if (a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant and marked with *P* and) consisting of a single phoneme follows immediately, (and if *luk*-deletion takes place)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *guṇa* vowel for the short *u* in final position of *ūrṇu-*, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*ūrṇoteḥ aṅgasya utaḥ luki hali piti sārvadhātuke*) *apṛkte*. *Ūrṇoteḥ* is continued from P. 6.3.90. *Aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1, is a technnical

gen. by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, the substitute replaces the final phoneme of the *sthānin*. *Utaḥ luki hali* is continued from P. 7.3.89. *Piti sārvadhātuke* is continued from P. 7.3.87. *Apṛkta* is defined by P. 1.2.41 as a suffix consisting of a single phoneme. The *vidheya* is *guṇaḥ*. It cancels *vibhāṣā vṛddhiḥ* from P. 7.3.90.

We consider P. 7.3.91 to be an associative digression of P. 7.3.90. See *FANU*, p. 197.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are the *par*. impf. forms *prorṇot* 'he covered' and *prorṇos* 'you (sg.) covered.' Both the Benares and the Hyderabad editions wrongly read thus instead of *praurṇot* and *praurṇos*.

The *prakriyā* of *praurṇot* is as follows:

(1)				*ūrṇuÑ-*					*Dhp*. 2.30
(2)	*pra*			+ *ūrṇu*					
(3)	*pra*			+ *ūrṇu*			+	*lAṄ*	P. 3.2.111
(4)	*pra*	+	*āṬ*	+ *ūrṇu*			+	*lAṄ*	P. 6.4.72
(5)	*pra*	+	*ā*	+ *ūrṇu*			+	*tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(6)	*pra*	+	*ā*	+ *ūrṇu*	+	*ŚaP*	+	*ti*	P. 3.1.68
(7)	*pra*	+	*ā*	+ *ūrṇu*	+	°	+	*ti*	P. 2.4.72
(8)	*pra*	+	*ā*	+ *ūrṇu*			+	*t*°	P. 3.4.100
(9)	*pra*	+	*aurṇu*				+	*t*	P. 6.1.90
(10)	*praurṇu*						+	*t*	P. 6.1.88
(11)	*praurṇo*						+	*t*	P. 7.3.91
	praurṇot.								

4. According to the *KV*, the mention of *apṛkte*, when we already have *hali* by *anuvṛtti*, is meant to offer a clue. *Hali* literally means 'if a consonant follows immediately.' Then why state *apṛkte*, which also refers to a single phoneme? The mention of *apṛkte* can only be meaningful on the assumption that it offers us a clue. The clue is found in the *tadādividhi* as phrased by *Vt*. XXIX on P. 1.1.72. Thus *hali* is interpreted to mean *halādau* 'when (a *Pit sārvadhātuka* suffix) beginning with a consonant follows immediately.' But this would include a *Pit sārvadhātuka* suffix like *tiP*, which consists of more than one phoneme. This is not desired. To prevent this, the word *apṛkte* has been mentioned in the rule.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

6. The present rule closes the sub-section dealing with *guṇa-* and *vṛddhi-* substitutions which started with P. 7.3.82.

7.3.92 TṚṆAHA IM '(the augment) *im* (is inserted after the *aṅga* stated as) *tṛṇah* (of *tṛh-* "to crush"), (if a *sārvadhātuka* suffix marked with *P (and)* beginning with a consonant immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the augment *im* for the conjugation class VII verbal base *tṛh-*, on the conditions stated. The *sūtra* opens a sub-section dealing with augments up to P. 7.3.100 inclusive.

2. The *uddeśya* is *tṛṇahaḥ* (*aṅgasya apṛkte hali piti sārvadhātuke*). *Tṛṇah* is the form of the verbal base *tṛh-* (*Dhp.* 7.18, *trhA-*) after the addition of the *vikaraṇa ŚnaM* (P. 3.1.78). According to P. 1.1.47, the *vikaraṇa* is added after the last vowel of the verbal base. The result is *tṛ-ṇa-h-*. *Tṛṇahaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1. The word *aṅgasya* here is an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* in connection with which we supply *antyāt acaḥ paraḥ* by P 1.1.47 to account for the construction with *im*. The word *luki* from P. 7.3.91 is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. It exclusively concerns verbal bases ending in *u*. *Hali piti sārvadhātuke* is continued from P. 7.3.89 and 87. Since we consider P. 7.2.91 to be an associative digression (of P. 7.3.90), the word *apṛkte* from P. 7.3.91 is not continued. See *FANU*, p. 197. The *KV* does not continue *apṛkte* either. The *vidheya* is *im*. It cancels *guṇaḥ* from P. 7.3.91. The *m* of *im* is an *it*-letter by P. 1.3.3.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are the present tense forms *tṛṇedhi* 'he crushes,' *tṛṇekṣi* 'you (sg.) crush,' *tṛṇehmi* 'I crush' and the sg 3rd person impf. *atṛṇet* 'he crushed.' Compare Whitney, § 695.

The *prakriyā* of *trnedhi* is as follows:

(1)	*tṛhA-*		*Dhp.* 7.18
(2)	*tṛh*	+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3)	*tṛh*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(4)	*tṛ-na-h*	+ *ti*	P. 3.1.78; 1.1.47
(5)	*tṛna-i-h*	+ *ti*	P. 7.3.92
(6)	*tṛneh*	+ *ti*	P. 6.1.78
(7)	*tṛnedh*	+ *ti*	P. 8.2.31
(8)	*tṛnedh*	+ *dhi*	P. 8.2.40
(9)	*tṛnedh*	+ *dhi*	*Vt.* I on P. 8.4.1
(10)	*tṛnedh*	+ *ḍhi*	P. 8.4.41

(11) *tṛne°* + *ḍhi* P. 8.3.13
tṛnedhi.

In stage (10) the application of P. 8.4.41 is regarded as *siddha* for the application of P. 8.3.13, against P. 8.2.1. .

In the derivation of *tṛṇekṣi*, in the stage *tṛṇeḍh+ si*, the *ḍh* is replaced by *k*, by P. 8.2.41. Then a retroflex *ṣ* is substituted for the dental s by P. 8.3.59.

The *prakriyā* of *atṛṇet* is as follows:

(2)	*tṛh* + *lAṄ*	P. 3.2.111
(3)	*a* + *tṛh* + *lAṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(4)	*a* + *tṛh* + *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*a* + *tṛ-na-h* + *ti*	P. 3.1.78; 1.1.47
(6)	*a* + *tṛnah* + *t°*	P. 3.4.100
(7)	*a* + *tṛnah* + °	P. 6.1.68
(8)	*a* + *tṛna-i-h*	P. 7.3.92; 1.1.47
(9)	*a* + *tṛneh*	P. 6.1.87
(10)	*a* + *tṛneḍh*	P. 8.2.31.
(11)	*a* + *tṛned*	P. 8.2.39
(12)	*a* + *tṛneḍ*	*Vt.* I on P. 8.4.1.
(13)	*a* + *tṛṇet*	P. 8.4.55
	atṛṇet.	

At stage (7) two rules become applicable simultaneously, P. 7.3.92 for *im*, and P. 6.1.68 for the deletion of the suffix *t*. Here P. 6.1.68 is the environment changing rule, so, by the *siddha*-principle (see *AP* II, Introduction, p. vi-xi) it prevails. Only then P. 7.3.92 is applied. This raises a question, namely, can we still apply the *im*-operation, because the conditioning suffix is no more there? See further under 4.

The form *atṛṇet* has been quoted earlier by Patañjali in his *bhāṣya* on *Vt.* XIII on P. 1.1.62 by way of example. Here Patañjali also states his opinion as *pratyayalakṣaṇena halītīṃ bhavati* 'because of (the condition) *hali* (in P. 7.3.92) *im* is inserted according to P. 1.1.62.'

4. The *KV* briefly says that although here (in *atṛṇet*) the *im*-operation is *varṇāśraya* 'depending on a speech sound' - reference is to the condition *hali* in P. 7.3.92 -, the application of P. 1.1.62 (*pratyayalakṣaṇa*) is desired.

We have two types of *varṇāśraya* operations. One is conditioned by a speechsound pure and simple. In that case the operation concerned is a mere sandhi operation, prescribed in the *saṃhitā*-section by a rule like P. 6.1.78. One example is the form *gohitam* 'good for cows,' quoted by the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* om P. 7.3.92, and discussed in the *PN* on *pbh*. 21. Here the question is whether after the deletion of the internal case ending *e* in the technical paraphrase ((*go* + *e*) + (*hita* + *su*)) + *sU* we can still substitute *av* for the *o* of *go* by P. 6.1.78. The answer is, no, because P. 6.1.78 is a sandhi operation. It is not concerned with a *pratyaya*. This is where Patañjali's statement *varṇāśraye nāsti pratyayalakṣaṇam* '(an operation) conditioned by a suffix does not apply (after the suffix has been deleted), when it merely depends on a speechsound (belonging to the suffix).' holds good. The statement has been later included in the *PN*, as *pbh*. 21. For the discussion compare *AP* IX, P. 6.3.34, under 2 and 7.

The other type of a *varṇāśraya* operation is where the speechsound concerned forms part of a suffix. In this case, the operation concerned has been prescribed in the *aṅgādhikāra*, by a rule like P. 7.3.92. This rule contains the condition *hali sārvadhātuke* in which *hali* serves as a qualifier of the suffix. Here the question is whether we can still apply the insertion of *im* after the deletion of the suffix. The answer is, yes, because P. 7.3.92 is an *aṅgādhikāra* rule. Here the statement *varṇāśraye nāsti pratyayalakṣaṇam* does not hold good. So even after the complete disappearance of the *halādi sārvadhātuka* suffix we can apply *im*.

5. To point out the significance of the condition *hali* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *tṛṇahāni* 'let me crush.' This is an imp. form where the augment *āṬ* is inserted by P. 3.4.92 between the verbal base and the ending *ni* (P. 3.4.89). Consequently, the suffix is not *halādi* 'beginning with a consonant,' but *ajādi* 'beginning with a vowel.' Therefore P. 7.3.92 does not apply.

The *KV* emphasizes that P. 7.3.92 applies in the case of a *Pit sārvadhātuka* suffix only. The counterexample is *tṛṇḍhaḥ* 'the two of them crush.' The derivation is as follows:

(2)	*tṛh*		+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3)	*tṛh*		+ *tas*	P. 3.4.78
(4)	*tṛh*	+ *ŚnaM*	+ *tas*	P. 3.1.78
(5)	*tṛ-na-h*		+ *tas*	P. 1.1.47
(6)	*tṛn°h*		+ *tas*	P. 6.4.111
(7)	*tṛnḍh*		+ *tas*	P. 8.2.31
(8)	*tṛnḍh*		+ *dhas*	P. 8.2.40

(9) *tṛṇḍh*	+ *dhas*	*Vt.* I on P. 8.4.1.
(10) *tṛṇḍh*	+ *ḍhas*	P. 8.4.41
(11) *tṛṇ°*	+ *ḍhas*	P. 8.3.13
tṛṇḍhas.		

In stage (9) the application of P. 8.4.41 is regarded as *siddha* for the application of P. 8.3.13, against P. 8.2.1.

6. Referring to *Vt.* I on the rule the *KV* finally says that in the rule the form *tṛṇahaḥ* is mentioned in which the *vikaraṇa ŚnaM* has been applied. in order to show that the augment *im* is inserted after we have formed ths stem *tṛṇa-*. Therefore *im* is not te be applied before *ŚnaM* has been added.

7. We have two *Vts* on the rule. *Vt.* I says that the mention of *tṛṇah-* in the rule serves to indicate the respective derivational stage in which *Śnam* and *im* are to be added. The point is of the order of the grammatical operations concerned. Patañjali explains that *im* is inserted only after *ŚnaM* is added.

Vt. II states the reason why this order of derivation is adopted. The reason is that, if the rule had stated *tṛh-*, quoted as *tṛhi-*, *ŚnaM* could not be applied within the domain of *im*, because otherwise no scope would be left for *im*. *ŚnaM* applies to all conjugation class VII verbal bases. *Im* is especially prescribed for the class VII base *tṛh-*. Therefore, by the *utsarga-apavādanyāya* it must supersede *ŚnaM* everwhere. But by saying *tṛṇahaḥ* the *sūtrakāra* fixes the order of application. Unless *ŚnaM* is added, we cannot apply *im*. Patañjali says that *Vt.* II is not needed, because the explanation stated is self-evident. We can, therefore, manage by *Vt.* I.

7.3.93 BRUVA ĪṬ '(the augment) *ĪṬ* (is added to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant and marked with *P*) which follows immediately after (the verbal base *aṅga*) *brū-* "to speak" '

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the augment *ĪṬ* for a *sārvadhātuka* suffix as qualified and addded after a specified verbal base.

2. The *uddeśya* is *bruvaḥ* (*aṅgāt hali piti sārvadhātuke*). *Brū-* is the verbal base mentioned in the *Dhp.* 2.35 as *brūÑ-*. *Bruvaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgāt*. It discontinues *tṛṇahaḥ* from P. 7.3.92. The word *aṅgāt* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Hali* is continued from P. 7.3.89, and *piti sārvadhātuke* from P. 7.3.87. The *vidheya* is *ĪṬ*. The function of the *anubandha Ṭ* is defined by P. 1.1.46. *ĪṬ* cancels *im* from P. 7.3.92.

Since P. 7.3.93 contains both an abl. (*aṅgāt*) and a loc. word (*sārvadhātuke*), *PN*, *pbh.* 70 becomes applicable. It tells us that in such a case the term used in the abl. has a greater force than the term used in the loc. What it means is that the term in the loc. is interpreted in the sense of a gen. According to the rule *ĪṬ* comes before a *sārvadhātuka* suffix. By P. 1.1.46 *ĪṬ* becomes the initial part of the suffix. This implies an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* relation. To express that relation, a genitive is used. So what we get is *bruvaḥ aṅgāt halādeḥ pitaḥ sārvadhātukasya* '(*ĪṬ* is added) to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant (and) marked with *P* which comes after *brū-*.' This is the way in which the *KV* interprets P. 7.3.93, and in which the *Nyāsa* explains it..

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are the pres. tense forms *bravīti* 'he speaks,' *bravīṣi* 'you (sg.) speak,' *bravīmi* and the impf. form *abravīt* 'he spoke.' In these forms the *vikaraṇa ŚaP* is *luk*-deleted by P. 2.4.72. *Guṇa* of the verbal base vowel is by P. 7.3.84. In the impf. form the *i* of the ending *ti* is deleted by P. 3.4.100.

4. The *KV* emphasizes that the rule applies only before a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant. The counterexample quoted is the sg. first person imp. form *bravāṇi* 'let me speak.' For the ending *ā-ni* compare the example *nenijāni*, quoted in connection with P. 7.3.87, under 3.

The *KV* also emphasizes that the rule applies only before a *sārvadhātuka* suffix which is *Pit*. The counterexample is the du. 3rd person pres. tense form *brūtas* 'the two of them speak.' The ending *tas* is *apit*. Therefore *ĪṬ* is not added.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.94 YAṄO VĀ '(the augment *ĪṬ* is) preferably (added to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant and marked with *P* coming) after (a verbal base *aṅga* ending in the intensive marker) *yaṄ*'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the preferable insertion of the augment *ĪṬ* for *yaṅluk* bases, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *yaṅaḥ* (*aṅgāt hali piti sārvadhātuke*). *YaṄ* is the marker of intensive bases by P. 3.1.22. *Yaṅaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgāt*. Since it qualifies *aṅgāt*, *yaṅaḥ* is interpreted to mean *yaṅantāt* by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). *Yaṅaḥ* cancels *bruvaḥ* from P. 7.3.93. For *aṅgāt* and the construction of *hali piti sārvadhātuke* see P. 7.3.93, under 2. The *vidheya* is *vā* (*ĪṬ*). For the meaning assigned to *vā* see Kiparsky 1979, p. 1. *ĪṬ* is continued from P. 7.3.93.

(9) *tṛṇḍh*	+ *dhas*	*Vt*. I on P. 8.4.1.
(10) *tṛṇḍh*	+ *ḍhas*	P. 8.4.41
(11) *tṛṇ°*	+ *ḍhas*	P. 8.3.13
tṛṇdhas.		

In stage (9) the application of P. 8.4.41 is regarded as *siddha* for the application of P. 8.3.13, against P. 8.2.1.

6. Referring to *Vt*. I on the rule the *KV* finally says that in the rule the form *tṛṇahaḥ* is mentioned in which the *vikaraṇa ŚnaM* has been applied. in order to show that the augment *im* is inserted after we have formed ths stem *tṛṇa-*. Therefore *im* is not te be applied before *ŚnaM* has been added.

7. We have two *Vts* on the rule. *Vt*. I says that the mention of *tṛṇah-* in the rule serves to indicate the respective derivational stage in which *Śnam* and *im* are to be added. The point is of the order of the grammatical operations concerned. Patañjali explains that *im* is inserted only after *ŚnaM* is added.

Vt. II states the reason why this order of derivation is adopted. The reason is that, if the rule had stated *tṛh-*, quoted as *tṛhi-*, *ŚnaM* could not be applied within the domain of *im*, because otherwise no scope would be left for *im*. *ŚnaM* applies to all conjugation class VII verbal bases. *Im* is especially prescribed for the class VII base *tṛh-*. Therefore, by the *utsarga-apavādanyāya* it must supersede *ŚnaM* everwhere. But by saying *tṛṇahaḥ* the *sūtrakāra* fixes the order of application. Unless *ŚnaM* is added, we cannot apply *im*. Patañjali says that *Vt*. II is not needed, because the explanation stated is self-evident. We can, therefore, manage by *Vt*. I.

7.3.93 BRUVA ĪṬ '(the augment) *ĪṬ* (is added to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant and marked with *P*) which follows immediately after (the verbal base *aṅga*) *brū-* "to speak" '

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the augment *ĪṬ* for a *sārvadhātuka* suffix as qualified and addded after a specified verbal base.

2. The *uddeśya* is *bruvaḥ* (*aṅgāt hali piti sārvadhātuke*). *Brū-* is the verbal base mentioned in the *Dhp*. 2.35 as *brūÑ-*. *Bruvaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgāt*. It discontinues *tṛṇahaḥ* from P. 7.3.92. The word *aṅgāt* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Hali* is continued from P. 7.3.89, and *piti sārvadhātuke* from P. 7.3.87. The *vidheya* is *ĪṬ*. The function of the *anubandha Ṭ* is defined by P. 1.1.46. *ĪṬ* cancels *im* from P. 7.3.92.

Since P. 7.3.93 contains both an abl. (*aṅgāt*) and a loc. word (*sārvadhātuke*), *PN, pbh.* 70 becomes applicable. It tells us that in such a case the term used in the abl. has a greater force than the term used in the loc. What it means is that the term in the loc. is interpreted in the sense of a gen. According to the rule *ĪṬ* comes before a *sārvadhātuka* suffix. By P. 1.1.46 *ĪṬ* becomes the initial part of the suffix. This implies an *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* relation. To express that relation, a genitive is used. So what we get is *bruvaḥ aṅgāt halādeḥ pitaḥ sārvadhātukasya* '(*ĪṬ* is added) to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant (and) marked with *P* which comes after *brū-*.' This is the way in which the *KV* interprets P. 7.3.93, and in which the *Nyāsa* explains it..

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are the pres. tense forms *bravîti* 'he speaks,' *bravīṣi* 'you (sg.) speak,' *bravīmi* and the impf. form *abravīt* 'he spoke.' In these forms the *vikaraṇa ŚaP* is *luk*-deleted by P. 2.4.72. *Guṇa* of the verbal base vowel is by P. 7.3.84. In the impf. form the *i* of the ending *ti* is deleted by P. 3.4.100.

4. The *KV* emphasizes that the rule applies only before a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant. The counterexample quoted is the sg. first person imp. form *bravāṇi* 'let me speak.' For the ending *ā-ni* compare the example *nenijāni,* quoted in connection with P. 7.3.87, under 3.

The *KV* also emphasizes that the rule applies only before a *sārvadhātuka* suffix which is *Pit*. The counterexample is the du. 3rd person pres. tense form *brūtas* 'the two of them speak.' The ending *tas* is *apit*. Therefore *ĪṬ* is not added.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.94 YAṄO VĀ '(the augment *ĪṬ* is) preferably (added to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant and marked with *P* coming) after (a verbal base *aṅga* ending in the intensive marker) *yaṄ*'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the preferable insertion of the augment *ĪṬ* for *yaṅluk* bases, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *yaṅaḥ* (*aṅgāt hali piti sārvadhātuke*). *YaṄ* is the marker of intensive bases by P. 3.1.22. *Yaṅaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgāt*. Since it qualifies *aṅgāt, yaṅaḥ* is interpreted to mean *yaṅantāt* by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). *Yaṅaḥ* cancels *bruvaḥ* from P. 7.3.93. For *aṅgāt* and the construction of *hali piti sārvadhātuke* see P. 7.3.93, under 2. The *vidheya* is *vā* (*ĪṬ*). For the meaning assigned to *vā* see Kiparsky 1979, p. 1. *ĪṬ* is continued from P. 7.3.93.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *śākuniko lālapīti* 'the bird catcher calls out (to the birds) repeatedly,' *dundubhir vāvadīti* 'the drum sounds repeatedly,' and *tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti maho devo martyān āviveśa* 'bound in three ways the bull bellows loudly. A mighty god has entered the mortals' (ṚgV. 4.58.3). The first two examples have been quoted earlier for P. 2.4.72 (a). For the last example compare *PASPA*, p. 52.

In the examples *yaṄ* is *luk*-deleted by P. 2.4.74 (a). Thus all operations dependent on the suffix cease to have effect. For the lengthening of *a* in the reduplication of *lap-* P. 7.4.83 is applied, and P. 7.3.82 for *guṇa* of the reduplication in *roravīti*.

P. 2.4.74 (a) is a rule dealing with Vedic usage. It says that here *luk*-deletion is applied variously. That is to say, a precise rule cannot be stated. *Luk* may be applied or not. For a discussion of *yaṄ*-formations by Whitney see *AP* VIII, p. 131. P. 7.3.94 also is best regarded as a Vedic rule See Kiparsky 1979, p. 71.

4. The *KV* notes that the augment is not applied in *varvarti* 'he selects repeatedly' and *carkarti cakram* 'he repeatedly makes wheels.' These are examples for the optional non-use of *īṬ*. For the *ar*-form of the reduplication P. 7.4.66 is applied.

5. The *KV* finally says that for the rule we can only quote examples of a *yaṅluganta* verbal base, that is, a base in which *luk*-deletion of *yaṄ* has taken place. Why no examples for bases simply ending in *yaṄ*? The reason stated is that there is no verbal base ending in *yaṄ* which takes a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant and being marked with *P*. The *Nyāsa* explains that *yaṅanta* bases are *Ṅit*. Therefore they take *ātmanepada* endings by P. 1.3.12. Among the *ātm*. endings there is no ending which is *Pit*. See P. 3.4.78.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.95 TU-RU-STU-ŚAMY-AM-AḤ SĀRVADHĀTUKE '(the augment *īṬ* is preferably added to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant and marked with *P*) after (the verbal base *aṅgas*) *tu-* "to become strong," *ru-* "to sound loudly," *stu-* "to praise," *śami-* "to be calm" and *am-* "to move" '

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the preferable insertion of the augment *īT* for the verbal bases mentioned, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *turustuśamyamaḥ* (*aṅgāt*) *sārvadhātuke*. Here *tu...amaḥ* is a *samāhāradvandva* stated in the sg. abl. *Tu-* (*Dhp.* 2.25), *ru-* and *stu-* are conjugation class II verbal bases (*Dhp.* 2.25, 24 and 34). *Śami-* is the quotation form of the verbal base *śam-* (*Dhp.* 4.92, *śamU-*) by *Vt.* II on P. 3.3.108. *Am-* is a class I verbal base (*Dhp.* 1.493, *amA-*). *Tu...amaḥ* discontinues *bruvaḥ* from P. 7.3.94. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgāt*, continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. As stated by the *KV*, the word *sārvadhātuke* is expressly mentioned to discontinue *piti* from P. 7.3.87. The word *hali*, interpreted as *halādeḥ* 'of (a *sārvadhātuka* suffix) beginning with a consonant' is not discontinued. For the interpretation of the loc. form *sārvadhātuke* see P. 7.3.93, under 2. The *vidheya* is (*vā īṬ*), continued from P. 7.3.94.

According to the *KV*, *tu-* is a *sautra* verbal base. That is to say, it is found in a *sūtra* only. However, the Westergaard- Böhtlingk ed. of the *Dhp*. mentions *tu-*, as stated above.

Candragomin has left out the present rule between *yaṇo vā* (C. 6.2.35) and the immediately following rule *astisico 'laḥ* (C. 6.2.36) which corresponds to P. 7.3.96. See the *Cāndravyākaraṇa of Candragomin*. Part II. Edited by K. Ch. Chatterji. Poona 1961, p. 303.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *tu-*: *uttavīti/uttauti* 'he becomes strong'

(b) For *ru-*: *uparavīti/uparauti* 'he roars'

(c) For *stu-*: *upastavīti/upastauti* 'he praises'

(d) For *śam-*: *śamīdhvam/śāmyadhvam* 'you (pl.) become calm' (*ātm.* 2nd. pl. imp.).

(e) For *am-*: *abhyamīti/abhyamati* 'he moves'

The preferred forms are stated in first position. In the first three forms the *vikaraṇa ŚaP* is *luk*-deleted by P. 2.4.72. In the preferred forms *guṇa* is by P. 7.3.84. In the less preferred forms *vṛddhi* is by P. 7.3.89, because the following suffix begins with a consonant. In *śamīdhvam luk*-deletion of the *vikaraṇa ŚyaN* is by P. 2.4.73.

The derivation of the alternative form *śāmyadhvam* is as follows:

(1) *śamU-*			*Dhp.* 4.92
(2) *śam*		+ *lOṬ*	P. 3.3.162
(3) *śam*		+ *dhvam*	P. 3.4.78
(4) *śam*		+ *dhve*	P. 3.4.79
(5) *śam*		+ *dhvam*	P. 3.4.91
(6) *śam*	+ *ŚyaN*	+ *dhvam*	P. 3.1.69
(7) *śām*	+ *ya*	+ *dhvam*	P. 7.3.74
śāmyadhvam			

4. The *KV* explains that in the case of *śam-* and *am-* the verbal base can only be followed immediately by a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant, if *luk*-deletion of the *vikaraṇas* concerned takes place. Otherwise *ŚyaN* (for *śam-*) and *ŚaP* (for *am-*) will invariably intervene between the verbal base and the suffix. But to have that *luk*-deletion reference must be made to rules for Vedic forms, P. 2.4.73 (*bahulaṃ chandasi*) for *ŚyaN* and P. 3.1.85 (*vyatyayena śap*) for *ŚaP*. By this reasoning the *KV* could have given the example *śamīti* for *śam-* also, but the *KV* opts for *śamīdhvam* which is borrowed from Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on *Vt*. I and attested in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃh.* (4.13.4).

5. The *KV* mentions that the followers of Āpiśali, a pre-pāniṇian grammarian, read P. 7.3.95 as *turustuśamyamaḥ sārvadhātukāsu chandasi* 'in the Vedic language (the augment *ĪṬ* is added,) if *sārvadhātuka* suffixes follow.' Thereby P. 7.3.95 becomes a Vedic rule. The *Nyāsa* notes that in this rule the word *sārvadhātuka* is used in the fem. gender.

6. Following *Vt*. I on the rule, the *KV* finally explains that the mention of the word *sārvadhātuke* in the rule serves to allow *apit sārvadhātukas* also. Thus *piti* from P. 7.3.87 is discontinued. The examples quoted are the pl. 2nd imp. form *stuvīta* 'you (pl) should praise' and *śamīdhvam* 'you (pl.) be calm.' Both endings are *apit*.

The derivation of *stuvīta* is as follows:

(1) *StuÑ-*			*Dhp.* 2.35
(2) *stu*			P. 6.1.64
(3) *stu*		+ *lOṬ*	P. 3.3.162
(4) *stu*		+ *tha*	P. 3.4.78
(5) *stu*		+ *ta*	P. 3.4.101
(6) *stu*	+ *ŚaP*	+ *ta*	P. 3.1.68
(7) *stu*	+ °	+ *ta*	P. 2.4.73

(8) *stu* + *ī* + *ta* P. 7.3.95
(9) *stuv* + *ī* + *ta* P. 6.4.77
stuvīta.

7. We have one *Vt*. on the rule. It says that the repeated mention of the word *sārvadhātuka* in P. 7.3.95 serves to allow *apit sārvadhātukas* also. Patañjali supplies a quotation from the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃh*. in which the form *śamīdhvam* is used.

8. We can derive the present tense forms *tauti, rauti* and *stauti* by P. 7.3.89. The optionally preferred form *tavīti, ravīti* and *stavīti* can be derived by P. 7.3.95. We cannot say with certainty whether these latter forms are typical of Vedic usage. In any case, the example *śamīdhvam* provided by Patañjali is actually a *yaṅluk* formation attested in the Veda. See further *AP* VIII, P. 2.4.74 (a), under 5.

7.3.96 ASTISICO 'PṚKTE '(the augment *īṬ* is added to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix) which consists of a single phoneme, (which begins with a consonant and which comes) after (the verbal base *aṅga*) *as*- "to be" and (after verbal base *aṅgas*) ending in (the aor. marker) *sIC*'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the augment *īṬ* for *as*- and for the the *s*-aor. in general, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *astisicaḥ* (*aṅgāt*) *hali apṛkte* (*sārvadhātuke*). *Astisic* is a *samāhāradvandva*. cp., the first member of which is the quotation form of *as*- by *Vt*. II on P. 3.3.108. In fact, reference is to the sg. 2nd and 3rd impf. forms of *as*-. Compare Whitney, §§ 621 c and 636. *SIC* is the *vikaraṇa* of the aor. by P. 3.1.44. *SIC* is interpreted to mean *sijanta* 'ending in *sIC*' because it qualifies *aṅga* by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). *Astisicaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgāt*. The word *aṅgāt* itself is continued (with (*vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Hali*, continued from P. 7.3.89, although the *KV* does not explicitly say so, is interpreted to mean *halādau* by the *tadādividhi* (*Vt*. XXIX on P. 1.1.72). The term *apṛkta* has been defined by P. 1.2.41. Compare P. 7.3.91. *Apṛkte* qualifies *sārvadhātuke*. For the interpretation of the loc. expression *hali apṛkte sārvadhātuke* as a genitive expression see P. 7.3.93, under 2. *Piti* from P. 7.3.87 had already been discontinued in P. 7.3.95. The *vidheya* is (*īṬ*), continued from P. 7.3.93. The option word *vā* from P. 7.3.94 is discontinued. P. 7.3.96 is a *nitya* rule. But we cannot satisfactorily explain the discontinuation of *vā* in P. 7.3.96, unless we assume that P. 7.3.94 and 95 are rules iinserted at a later date in what can be considered an earlier version of the text of the A.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are

(a) For *asti*: *āsīt* 'he was' and *asīs* 'you (sg.) were'

(b) For the s-aor.: *akārṣīt* 'he made,' *asāvīt* 'he set in motion,' *alāvīt* 'he mowed' and *apāvīt* 'he cleaned'

The derivation of *āsīt* is as follows:

(1)	*asA-*							*Dhp*. 2.56
(2)	*as*				+	*lAṄ*		P. 3.2.111
(3)	*āṬ*	+	*as*		+	*lAṄ*		P. 6.4.72
(4)	*ā*	+	*as*		+	*tiP*		P. 3.4.78
(5)	*ā*	+	*as*	+ *ŚaP*	+	*tiP*		P. 3.1.68
(6)	*ā*	+	*as*	+ °	+	*ti*		P. 2.4.72
(7)	*ā*	+	*as*		+	*t°*		P. 3.4.100
(8)	*ā*	+	*as*	+ *īṬ*	+	*t*		P. 7.3.96
(9)	*ās*			+ *ī*	+	*t*		P. 6.1.101
	āsīt.							

In stage (7) after the deletion of the *i* by P. 3.4.100, the *t* still is a *sārvadhātuka* suffix by *PN*, *pbh*. 37. For the *prakriyā* of *akārṣīt*, etc. see the one stated for *acaisīt* in *AP* XI, pp. 1-2.

4. To point out the significance of the word *apṛkte* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *asti* 'he is' and *akārṣam* 'I made.' Obviously, the *sārvadhātuke* suffixes *ti* and *am* are not *apṛkta*.

5. Finally, the *KV* quotes *Vt*. XXI on P. 1.1.56 with a slight variation (*īta pratiṣedhaḥ* for *ītpratiṣedhaḥ* in the Kielhorn text). The *Vt*. says that a prohibition should be phrased of the augment *īṬ* in connection with *āh-* 'to speak' and *bhū-* 'to become.' In his *bhāṣya* here Patañjali quotes the examples *āttha* 'you speak' and *abhut* 'he became.' For further explanation and the derivation of *abhūt* see *STHĀNI*, Pt. I, p. 105-106.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.97 BAHULAṂ CHANDASI '(the augment *īṬ* is) variously (added to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix which consists of a single phoneme and which comes after the verbal base *aṅga as-* "to be" and after a verbal base *aṅga* ending in the aor. marker *sIC*) in the Vedic language'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* noting a Vedic peculiarity.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*astisicaḥ aṅgāt apṛkte sārvadhātuke*) *chandasi*. In fact, the whole of P. 7.3.96 is continued in the present rule. For *chandas* see *ATA*, n. 131. The *vidheya* is *bahulam*. The implication is that a precise rule cannot be stated. As stated by Kiparsky 1979, p. 56, almost all Vedic rules in the A. are patch-up rules added to rules established on the basis of the *bhāṣā*. For the character of Vedic rules see further *AP* IX, P. 6.4.58, under 1.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *asti*: *āpa evedaṃ salilaṃ sarvam āḥ* 'all of this water is the waters only' (?). This is an unidentified Vedic quotation somewhat similar to ṚgV. 10.129.3, *salilaṃ sarvam ā idam*. The *KV* explains that the verb form *āḥ* has replaced *āsīt*. The form *āḥ* is explained by the *Nyāsa*. The derivation is as follows:

(1) - (7) See P. 7.3.96, under 3. The augment *īṬ* by P. 7.3.96 is not applied because of *bahulaṃ chandasi*.

(8)	*ā* + *as* + °	P. 6.1.68 (deletion of *t*)
(9)	*ās*	P. 6.1.101
(10)	*ārU*	P. 8.2.66
(11)	*āḥ*	P. 8.3.15
	āḥ.	

The second example is *ahar vāva tarhy āsīn na rātriḥ* 'at that time there was day only, no night' (*Maitr. S.* 1.5.25). The *KV* Benares ed. offers a garbled version. In the quotation the augment *īṬ* has been added in *āsīt* by P. 7.3.96.

(b) For *sijanta* formations: *gobhir akṣāḥ* 'with his cows he came aflowing' (ṚgV. 9.107.9, said of Soma as a owner of cattle) and *pratyañcam atsaḥ* 'from behind he stalked' (ṚgV. 10.28.4). In both verb forms the augment *īṬ* has not been added on account of *bahulaṃ chandasi*. The derivation of *akṣār* is as follows:

(1)	*kṣarA-*		*Dhp.* 1.904
(2)	*kṣar*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.2.115.

(3) *aṬ* + *kṣar* + *lUṄ* P. 6.4.71
(4) *a* + *kṣar* + *ClI* + *lUṄ* P. 3.1.43
(5) *a* + *kṣar* + *sIC* + *lUṄ* P. 3.1.44
(6) *a* + *kṣar* + *s* + *ti* P. 3.4.78
(7) *a* + *kṣar* + *s* + *t*° P. 3.4.100
(8) *a* + *kṣār* + *s* + *t* P. 7.2.2
(9) *a* + *kṣār* + *s* + ° P. 6.1.68
(10) *a* + *kṣār* + ° P. 8.2.24
(11) *a* + *kṣāḥ* P. 8.3.15
akṣāḥ.

Similarly for *atsāḥ*, an aor. formation of the verbal base *at-* (*Dhp*. 1.38, *atA-*).

4. In the usage *abhaiṣīr mā putraka* 'o boy, don't be afraid' the augment *īṬ* is applied by the present rule. For the augment *aṬ* in spite of the use of the prohibitive particle *māṄ* see *AP* IX, P. 6.4.75, which is also a *bahulaṃ chandasi* rule. For the derivation of *abhaiṣīt* compare the one given for *acaiṣīt* in *AP* XI, p. 1-2.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.98 RUDAŚ CA PANCABHYAḤ 'also (the augment *īṬ* is added to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant and consisting of a single phoneme and added) after the five (verbal base *aṅgas*) from *rud-* "to cry" onwards'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the augment *īṬ* in connection with a group of five specified verbal bases, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *rudaḥ pañcabhyaḥ* (*aṅgebhyaḥ hali apṛkte sārvadhātuke*). *Rudaḥ pañcabhyaḥ* discontinues *astisicaḥ* from P. 7.3.96. Sometimes a *gaṇa* is indicated by the mention of a number. Compare P. 6.4.125, *saptānām*, and P. 7.3.14, *aṣṭānām*. According to the *KV*, the sg. abl. *rudaḥ* is to be interpreted as *rudādibhyaḥ* 'after (the five) beginning with *rud-*.' The *rudādi-gaṇa* was mentioned earlier in P. 7.2.76. This rule prescribes the (short) augment *iṬ* for the *rudādi* bases before a non-*apṛkta sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a *vaL* sound. Reference is to the verbal bases mentioned in the *Dhp*. under 2.58-62. *Pañcabhyaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgebhyaḥ*, continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. The *KV* continues *hali* from P. 7.3.89. *Hali* is interpreted to mean *halādau* by the *tadādividhi*, *Vt*. XXIX on P. 1.1.72. *Apṛkte* is continued from P. 7.3.96. *Sārvadhātuke* is continued from P. 7.3.87. For the construction of the loc. expression *hali apṛkte sārvadhātuke* as a gen. expression see P. 7.3.93, under 2. The *vidheya* is *īṬ*, continued from P. 7.3.93.

The particle *ca* serves as a rule boundary. See *FANU*, p. 36, 232.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are the impf. forms:

(a) For *rud-*: *arodīt* 'he cried' and *arodīḥ* 'you (sg.) cried'

(b) For *svap-*: *asvapīt* 'he slept' and *asvapīḥ* 'you (sg.) slept'

(c) For *śvas-*: *aśvadīt* 'he blew' and *aśvadīḥ* 'you (sg.) blew'

(d) For *an-*: *praṇīt* 'he breathed' and *praṇīḥ* 'you (sg.) breathed'

(e) For *jakṣ-*: *ajakṣīt* 'he ate' and *ajakṣīh* 'you (sg.) ate'
For *rud-*, *svap-*, *śvas-* and *an-* compare Whitney § 631.

The derivation of *arodīt* is as follows:

(1)	*rudIR-*		*Dhp.* 2.58
(2)	*rud*	+ *lAṄ*	P 3.2.111.
(3)	*a* + *rud*	+ *lAṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(4)	*a* + *rud*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*a* + *rud* + *ŚaP*	+ *ti*	P. 3.1.68
(6)	*a* + *rud* + °	+ *ti*	P. 2.4.72
(7)	*a* + *rud*	+ *t*°	P. 3.4.100
(8)	*a* + *rud*	+ *īṬ* + *t*	P. 7.3.98
(9)	*a* + *rod*	+ *ī* + *t*	P. 7.3.86
	arodīt.		

4. To point out the significance of the word *pañcabhyaḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *ajāgar bhavān* 'you, sir, were awake.' The verbal base *jāgṛ-* (*Dhp.* 2.63) is not included in the group of five.

The *KV* emphasizes that the rule applies only, if the *sārvadhātuka* suffix consists of a single phoneme. The counterexample is *roditi* 'he weeps.' Here *ti* does not consist of a single consonant. The augment added is *īṬ* by P. 7.2.76.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.99 AD GĀRGYAGĀLAVAYOḤ '(the augment) *aṬ* (is added to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant, consisting of a single phoneme and added after the five verbal base *aṅgas* from *rud-* "to cry" onwards), (according to the opinion) of Gārgya and Gālava'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra* mentioning the view of two pre-pāṇinian grammarians. It prescribes the augment *a* where, according to P. 7.3.98, the augment *īṬ* is added. According to *Mbh.* I, p. 105, lines 12-13, such a mention indicates that the form under discussion may be derived in two ways, namely, by an earlier Pāṇini-rule, and by the rule stating the view of the grammarian or grammarians mentioned. Thus we have an option.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*rudaḥ pañcabhyaḥ aṅgebhyaḥ hali apṛkte sarvadhātuke*) *gārgyagālavayoḥ*. For *rudaḥ...sārvadhātuke* see P. 7.3.98, under 2. In connection with *gārgyagālavayoḥ* suppply *matena* 'according to the opinion.' For *Gārgya* and *Gālava* see *DSG* 1986, s.vv., and for Gālava also *AP* X, P. 7.1.74, under 2. The *vidheya* is *aṬ*. The function of the *anubandha Ṭ* has been defined by P. 1.1.46.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are identical with those quoted for P. 7.3.88, with the one exception that everywhere a short *a* is added by way of augment instead of *ī*. Thus we have *arodat* 'he wept' and *arodas* 'you (sg.) wept,' instead of *arodīt* and *arodīs*. Compare Whitney § 631.

4. The *KV* says that the mention of the two grammarians is to show respect. The *Nyāsa* agrees, but says that from this we should not infer an option. The reason stated is that *aṬ* and *īṬ*, which are marked as coming at the beginning and which share the same domain, cannot be applied together. Therefore the fact of an option should be evident even without the mention of the names of the grammarians.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.100 ADAḤ SARVEṢĀM '(the augment *aṬ* is added to a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant, consisting of a single phoneme) after (the verbal base *aṅga*) *ad-* "to eat," (according to the opinion) of all (grammarians)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the augment *aṬ* for *ad-* as the unanimous opinion of grammarians, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *adaḥ* (*aṅgāt hali apṛkte sārvadhātuke*) *sarveṣām*. *Adaḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgāt*. Reference is to the verbal base *ad-* (*Dhp.* 2.1). *Adaḥ* discontinues *rudaḥ pañcabhyaḥ* from P. 7.3.99. *Aṅgāt* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Hali*, continued from P. 7.3.89 is interpreted to mean *halādau* by the *tadādividhi* (*Vt.* XXIX on P. 1.1.72). For the construction of the loc. expression *hali apṛkte sārvadhātuke* as a genitive expression see P. 7.3.93, under 2. *Sarveṣām* discontinues *gārgyagālavayoḥ* from P. 7.3.99. In connection with *sarveṣām* supply *matena* 'according to the opinion.' The *vidheya* is (*aṬ*), continued from P. 7.3.99.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are the impf. forms *ādat* 'he ate' and *ādaḥ* 'you (sg.) ate.' Compare Whitney, § 621 c. For the *vṛddhi* of *āṬ* (P. 6.4.72) and the initial vowel of *ad-* apply P. 6.1.90.

4. The *KV* emphasizes that the rule applies only, if the *sārbvadhātuka* suffix consists of a single phoneme. The counterexamples are *atti* 'he eats' and *atsi* 'you (sg.) eat.' The *KV* Benares ed. wrongly reads *asi* for the latter example.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

6. The present rule concludes the sub-section dealing with augments, starting form P. 7.3.92.

7.3.101 ATO DĪRGHO YAÑI 'a long vowel (comes) in place of (the final vowel of a verbal base *aṅga* ending in) short *a*, if (a *sārvadhātuka* suffix beginning with) a *yaÑ* sound follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a long vowel for *a* in final position of a verbal base, on the conditions stated. The present rule opens up a sub-section dealing with vowel substitutions up to P. 7.3.111 inclusive

2. The *uddeśya* is *ataḥ* (*aṅgasya*) *yañi* (*sārvadhātuke*). The function of the *anubandha Ṭ* in *aṬ* has been defined by P. 1.1.70. *Ataḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. It is interpreted to mean *ad-antasya* by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). It discontinues *adaḥ* from P. 7.3.100. *Aṅgasya* is a technical genitive.by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, substitution takes place of the final phoneme of the *sthānin*. *YaÑ* is the *pratyāhāra* 'abbreviative designation' of the semivowels, nasals, *jh* and *bh*. Here *jh* is redundantly included. For purposes of the present rule the important phonemes are *v* and *m* only. *Yañi* qualifies *sārvadhātuke*, and discontinues *hali* and *apṛkte* from P. 7.3.89 and 91. It is a technical loc. interpreted as *yañadau*

by the *tadādividhi* (*Vt*. XXIX on P. 1.1.72). *Sārvadhātuke* is continued as a technical loc. from P. 7.3.95. The *vidheya* is *dīrghaḥ*. The term *dīrgha* has been defined by P. 1.2.27. *Dīrghaḥ* discontinues *aṬ* from P. 7.3.99.

P. 1.4.13 prescribes the term *aṅga* for a pre-suffixal verbal or nominal base. *Aṅga* always presupposes a stem-suffix relation, and is therefore one of the basic analytic concepts of the A. The suffix may be a *vikaraṇa*, a personal ending or a case suffix. In the case of verbal bases the term *aṅga* covers both the verbal base before a *vikaraṇa* and the verbal base plus *vikaraṇa* before the personal ending. Thus *bhū-* is called *aṅga* before the *vikarana ŚaP*, but [*bhū* + *ŚaP*] is also called *aṅga* before the a personal ending like *tiP*.

For *yañi* especially see P. Kiparsky, "Economy and the character of the *Śivasūtras*" in: *Pāṇinian Studies. Prof. S. D. Joshi Felicitation Volume*. Edited by M.M. Deshpande and S. Bhate. Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies. University of Michagan. Number 17. 1991, p. 253-254.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *pacāmi* 'I cook,' *pacāvaḥ* 'the two of us cook,' *pacāmaḥ* 'we cook,' *pakṣyāmi* 'I will cook,' *pakṣyāvaḥ* 'the two of us will cook' and *pakṣyāmaḥ* 'we will cook.' In the latter three forms the suffix added is *sya* by P. 3.1.33. The *c* of *pac* is replaced by *k* by P. 8.2.30. The *s* of the suffix is replaced by a retroflexed *ṣ* by P. 8.3.59.

4. To point out the significance of the word *ataḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *cinuvaḥ* 'the two of us pile up' and *cinumaḥ* 'we pile up.'

To point out the significance of *yañi*, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *pacataḥ* 'the two of them cook' and *pacathaḥ* 'the two of you cook.'

The *KV* emphasizes that the rule applies only if a *sārvadhātuka* suffix follows. The counterexample are *aṅganā* 'a woman' and *keśava* 'name of Krishna.' These words are derived with the help of *taddhita*, non-*sārvadhātuka* suffixes. The *Nyāsa* explains *aṅganā* as *praśastāni angāni asyāḥ santi* 'she who has beautiful limbs.' Reference is to the *gaṇasūtra aṅgāt kalyāṇe*, quoted under *pāmādayaḥ* (P. 5.2.100) in Böhtlingk's edition of the *Gaṇapāṭha*, no. 11. Thus *aṅganā* is derived as (*aṅga* + *na*) + *TāP*. *Kesava*. is a *va*-derivation by P. 5.2.109.

5. According to the *KV*, some (*kecid*) grammarians read the word *tiṅi*, continued from P. 7.3.88, in P. 7.3.101. This amounts to *maṇḍūkapluti*, for which see *FANU*, p 208. Thereby the condition *sārvadhātuke* from P. 7.3.95 is discontinued. In

this way, lengthening by P. 7.3.101 becomes restricted to verbal base *aṅgas* before a *tiṄ* suffix. The example quoted for this view by the *KV* is *bhavavān* 'one who has become.' This form is a *KvasU*-derivation by the *chandas* rule P. 3.2.107. Here lenghtening before the suffix *KvasU* is manifestly not applied. The question, then, is how to justify non-lengthening.

The derivation of *bhavavān* is as follows:

(1)	*bhū*--	*Dhp.* 1.1
(2)	*bhū* + *lIṬ*	P. 3.2.105
(3)	*bhū* + *KvasU*	P. 3.2.107
(4)	*bhū* + *ŚaP* + *vas*	P. 3.1.68
(5)	*bho* + *a* + *vas*	P. 7.3.84
(6)	*bhav* + *a* + *vas*	P. 6.1.78

At this stage the question is whether or not to apply P. 7.3.101. Its application would lead to the undesired form **bhavāvān*. For those who continue *tiṅi* in P. 7.3.101 lengthening before *vas* cannot be applied because *vas* is not *tiṄ*. So they have no difficulty in deriving the desired form *bhavavān*. Those who do not continue *tiṅi*, but accept the continuation of *sārvadhātuke* have to look for another way of preventing the application of P. 7.3.101. They could do so referring to P. 3.4.115. This rule says that *lIṬ* replacements are called *ārdhadhātuka*. P. 7.3.101 contains the condition *sārvadhātuke*. So *KvasU* is out. But then it could be pointed out that by P. 7.3.117 the distinction between *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* is not always maintained in the Vedic language Thus *KvasU* in Vedic usage could be a *sārvadhātuka* suffix also, and the difficulty of preventing lengthening by P. 7.3.101 pops up again. In that case, the only way out is to invoke the maxim *dṛṣṭānuvidhiḥ chandasi* 'when dealing with Vedic forms, (first see (the form to be derived, and then) apply the rule accordingly.' See *Mbh.* I, p. 55, line 3.

For the rest of the derivation of *bhavavān* see the one given for *śreyān* in *AP* IX, p. 20.

For the argument regarding the continuation of *sārvadhātuke* in P. 7.3.101 or the continuation of *tiṅi* from P. 7.3.88 compare *AP* XI, p. 159-160, in connection with P. 7.2.80.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.102 SUPI CA 'also (a long vowel comes in place of the final vowel of a nominal base *aṅga* ending in short *a*), if (a suffix called) *sUP* (beginning with a *yaÑ* sound) follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a long vowel for *a* in final position of a nominal base, on the conditions stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*ataḥ aṅgasya yañi*) *supi*. The words *ataḥ yañi* are continued from P. 7.3.101. The *pratyāhāra yaÑ* also includes *bh*. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1. For questions of construction and interpretation see P. 7.3.101, under 2. *SUP* is the *pratyāhāra* 'abbreviative designation' of all case endings enumerated in P. 4.1.2. *Supi* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. It cancels *sārvdhātuke* from P. 7.3.95. The *vidheya* is (*dīrghaḥ*), continued from P. 7.3.101.

The particle *ca* serves as a rule boundary. See *FANU*. p. 36, 232.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *vṛkṣāya* 'for a tree.' *plakṣāya* 'for a *plakṣa* tree,' *vṛkṣābhyām* 'by/for/from the two trees' and *plakṣābhyām* 'by/for/from the two *plakṣa* trees.'

4. The *KV* emphasizes that the rule applies only, if the *sUP* ending follows after a stem ending in short *a*. The counterexample is *agnibhyām* 'by/for/from the two fires.'

The *KV* also emphasizes that the rule applies only, if the *sUP* ending begins with a *yaÑ* sound. The counterexamples are *vṛkṣasya* 'of a tree' and *plakṣasya* 'of a *plakṣa tree*.' The *ṣ* is not a *yaÑ* sound.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.103 BAHUVACANE JHALY ET '*eT* (comes in place of the final vowel of a nominal base *aṅga* ending in short *a*), if a (*sUP*) plural suffix (beginning with) a *jhaL* sound follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *e* for *a* in final position of a nominal base, on the conditions stated. It opens a small sub-section dealing with the substitution of *eT* up to P. 7.3.106 inclusive.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*ataḥ aṅgasya*) *bahuvacane jhali* (*supi*) Here *ataḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.101. *Aṅgasya* is continued as a technical genitive from P. 6.4.1. For

questions of construction and interpretation see P. 7.3.101, under 2. *Bahuvacana* is defined as a plural *sUP* suffix by P.1.4.102. *JHaL* is the *pratyāhāra* 'abbreviative designation' of all consonants except nasals. *Jhali* qualifies *supi* and is, therefore, interpreted to mean *jhalādau* by the *tadādividhi* (*Vt*. XXIX on P. 1.1.72). The *vidheya* is *eT*. It cancels *dīrghaḥ* from P. 7.3.101. The *T* has been added *uccāraṇārtham* 'for ease of pronunciation,' to avoid sandhi complications with the next rule *osi ca*.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *vṛkṣebhyaḥ* 'for/from the trees,' *plakṣebhyaḥ* 'for/from the *plakṣa* trees,' *vṛkṣeṣu* 'in the trees' and *plakṣeṣu* 'in the *plakṣa* trees.'

4. To point out the significance of the word *bahuvacane* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the dual forms *vṛkṣābhyām* 'by/for/from the two trees' and *plakṣābhyām* 'by/for/from the two *plakṣa* trees.'

To point out the significance of the word *jhali*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *vṛkṣāṇām* 'of the trees.' The *ṇ* is not a *jhaL* sound.

The *KV* emphasizes that the rule applies only for *sUP* suffixes. The counterexamples are the *ātm*. imp. forms *yajadhvam* 'you (pl.) must sacrifice' and *pacadhvam* 'you (pl.) must cook.' *Dhvam* is a *tiṄ* suffix.

5. We have one *Vt*. on the rule. It says that the *e*-substitution before a plural suffix prevails over the substitution of a long vowel by conflict procedure. What is meant is *paravipratiṣedha* 'conflict procedure in which the later rule prevails.' Reference is to the traditional interpretation of P. 1.4.2. The examples quoted by Patañjali are *vṛkṣeṣu*, *plakṣeṣu*, *vṛkṣebhyaḥ* and *plakṣebhyaḥ*. The point of the *Vt*. is that in *vṛkṣa* + *bhyaḥ* and *plakṣa* + *bhyaḥ* both P. 7.3.102 and 103 are applicable. Against tradition we will assume that P. 7.3.103 is the more specific rule (*apavāda*) in relation to P. 7.3.102, because it contains the condition *bahuvacane*. Therefore, by the *utsarga-apavāda-nyāya* P. 7.3.103 prevails. See *AP* IV, p. 20.

7.3.104 OSI CA 'also (*eT* comes in place of the final vowel of a nominal base *aṅga* ending in *a*), if *os* follows immediately'.

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *eT* for *a* in final poistion of a nominal base, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*ataḥ aṅgasya*) *osi* (*supi*). For *ataḥ aṅgasya* see P. 7.3.103, under 2. *Os* is the du. loc and gen. case ending mentioned in P. 1.4.2. *Osi* is a

technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. It discontinues *jhali* from P. 7.3.103. *Supi* may be redundantly continued from P. 7.3.102, although the *KV* does not do so. The *vidheya* is *eT*, continued from P. 7.3.103.

The particle *ca* serves as a boundary marker. See *FANU*, p. 36, 232.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For the gen. ending *os*: *vṛkṣayoḥ svam* 'the property of the two trees,' *plakṣayoḥ svam* 'the property of the two *plakṣa* trees'

(b) For the loc. ending *os*: *vṛkṣayor nidhehi* 'put (it) on the two trees' and *plakṣayor nidhehi* 'put (it) on the two *plakṣa* trees'

The derivation of *vṛkṣayos* is as follows:

(1)	*vṛkṣa* + *os*	P. 4.1.2
(2)	*vṛkṣe* + *os*	P. 7.3.104
(3)	*vṛkṣay* + *os*	P. 6.1.78
	vṛkṣayos.	

4. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.105 ANI CĀPAḤ 'also (*eT* comes) in place of (a nominal base *aṅga* ending in a fem. suffix called) *āP*, if (the instr. case ending) *āṄ* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *eT* for the fem. suffixes called *āP*, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *āpaḥ* (*aṅgasya*) *ani*. *ĀP* is the cover term for three fem. suffixes, *ṬāP* (P. 4.1.4), *ḌāP* (P. 4.1.13) and *CāP* (P. 4.1.74). *Āpaḥ* qualifies *aṅgasya*, and is, therefore, interpreted as *ābantasya* 'of (an *aṅga*) ending in *āP* ' by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). Compare *AP* X, P. 7.1.18, under 2. *Aṅgasya* is continued from P. 6.4.1 as a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, substitution takes place of the final phoneme of the *sthānin*. *ĀṄ* is the pre-pāṇinian term for the sg. instr. case ending *Ṭā* in P. 4.1.2. *ĀṄ* is also used in P. 6.4.141 and P. 7.3.120. *Supi* from P. 7.3.102 can be redundantly continued, although technically *āṄ* is not included in Pāṇini's *pratyāhāra sUP*. The *vidheya* is *eT*, continued from P. 7.3.103.

The particle *ca* reinforces the otherwise incompatible item *os* from P. 7.3.104.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *khaṭvayā* 'by means of a cot,' *mālayā* 'by means of a garland,' *khaṭvayoḥ* 'of/on the two cots,' *mālayoḥ* 'of/in the two garlands,' and two *bv*. cps formed with the fem. suffix *ḌāP*, namely, *bahurājayā* 'by means of (a fem. item) having many kings' *kārīṣagandhyayā* 'by means of a female descendant of Karīṣagandhi,' *bahurājayoḥ* 'on/of two fem. items having many kings' and *kārīsagandhyayoḥ* 'on/of two female decendants of Karīṣagandhi.' The examples *bahurājā* and *kārīṣagandhyā* were used earlier in connection with P. 7.1.18 and 7.1.54.

The derivation of *khaṭvayā* is as follows:

(1)	(*khaṭva* + *ṬāP*) + *āṄ*	P. 4.1.4; 4.1.2 (*āṄ* = *Tā*)
(2)	*khaṭvā* + *ā*	P. 6.1.101
(3)	*khaṭve* + *ā*	P. 7.3.105
(4)	*khaṭvay* + *ā*	P. 6.1.78
	khaṭvayā.	

In *bahurājan* + *ḌāP* (P. 4.1.13) we apply P. 6.4.143. That gives us *bahurāj°* + *ā*. Then apply P. 7.3.105 and 6.1.78.

4. To point out the the significance of the *anubandha P* in *ṬāP*, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *kīlālapā brāhmaṇena* 'by a *kīlāla* drinking brahmin' and *kīlālapayoḥ brāhmaṇayoḥ* 'on/of two *kīlāla* drinking brahmins. The counterexamples have been quoted earlier in connection with P. 7.1.74. See *AP* X, p. 163. *Kīlālapā* is a word used in the ṚgV. 4.3.6. For the *prakriyā* as a *viC* derivation by P. 3.2.75 see *AP* IX, p. 369, where also the sg. instr. form *kīlālapā* is explained. The point is that the final *ā* of the sg. instr. form *kīlālapā* is not a fem. suffix covered by *āP*. Therefore *ettva* by P. 7.3.105 is not applied.

5. The *KV* points out that the present rule is not to be applied on account of the statement *ṅyābgrahaṇe 'dīrghaḥ* 'when mention is of (the fem. suffixes) *Ṅī* or *āP*, a (resulting) non-long vowel (is not treated as *sthānivat*).' The statement is *Vt*. XX on P. 1.1.56. For the *Vt*. and a discussion see *STHĀNI*, Pt. I, p. 99-100. The counterexample quoted by the *KV* is *atikhaṭvena brāhmaṇena* 'by a brahmin who has violated the nuptial bed.' In *atikhaṭva* the final *ā* of *khaṭvā* has been replaced by short vowel by P. 1.2.48. According to the *Vt*., the substitute short vowel is not to be treated like the original long vowel. No *sthānivadbhāva*. Therefore *ettva* by P. 7.3.105 does not apply. The argument returns in the *KV* on P. 7.3.113.

6. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.106 SAṂBUDDHAU CA 'also (*eT* comes in place of a nominal base *aṅga* ending in a fem suffix called *āP*), if the (sg. vocative ending called) *saṃbuddhi* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *eT* for the fem. suffix suffixes called *āP* in the sg. vocative. The present rule opens a small sub-section dealing with vowel substitutions in the sg. vocative, up to P. 7.3.108 inclusive.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*āpaḥ aṅgasya*) *saṃbuddhau*. For *āpaḥ aṅgasya* see P. 7.3.105, under 2. *Saṃbuddhi* is the term for the sg. nom. case ending, when addressing a person, by P. 2.3.47 and 49. *Saṃbuddhau* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. It cancels *āṅi* from P. 7.3.105. The *vidheya* is *eT*, continued from P. 7.3.102.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *he khaṭve* 'o bed,' *he bahurāje* 'o you (fem. item) possessing many kings' and *he kārīṣagandhye* 'o you female descendant of Karīṣagandhi.' *He khaṭve* is the example for the fem. suffix *ṬāP* (P. 4.1.4). The other two examples are for *ḌāP* (P. 4.1.13) and *CāP* (4.1.74)

4. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

5. The present rule closes the sub-section dealing with the substitution of *eT*.

7.3.107 AMBĀRTHANADYOR HRASVAḤ 'a short vowel comes in place of nominal base *aṅgas* conveying the sense of *ambā* "mother" and of those called *nadī*, (if the sg. vocative ending called *saṃbuddhi* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a short vowel for the final vowel of the stems mentioned, on the condition stated The present rule opens a sub-section dealing with vowel substitutions up to P. 7.3.111 inclusive.

2. The *uddeśya* is *ambārthanadyoḥ* (*aṅgayoḥ saṃbuddhau*). *Ambārthanadyoḥ* is an *itaretaradvandva* cp. by P. 2.2.29. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgayoḥ*. Cps ending in °*artha* in the A. stand for their own form as well as for synonyms. Compare *AP* V, P. 2.1.20, under 5; P. 2.1.31; P. 2.3.73. *Aṅgayoḥ* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. It is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, substitution takes place of the fianl phoneme of the *sthānin*. *Nadī* is the cover term for fem. stems ending in long *ī* or *ū* by P. 1.4.3. *Saṃbuddhau*

is continued from P. 7.1.106. The *vidheya* is *hrasvaḥ*, defined by P. 1.2.27. It discontinues *eT* from P. 7.3.102.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *ambārtha*: *he amba* 'o mother,' *he akka* 'o Akkā.' and *he alla* 'o Allā'

(b) For *nadî*: *he kumāri* 'o girl,' *he śārṅgaravi* 'o Śārṅgaravî, '*he brahmabandhu* 'o female who is a brahmin in name only' (see *STHĀNI*, Pt. II, p. 27) and *he vīrabandhu* 'o female who is courageous in name only.' For the examples compare the *KV* on P. 1.4.3, and *AP* IV, p. 43; *AP* X, p. 112.

Deletion of the sg. nom. ending *sU* is by P. 6.1.69.

4. In the *bhāṣya* on P. 7.3.107 three *bhāṣyavārttikas* are quoted. We will refer to them as *bhāṣyavt*. i, ii, and iii. The *KV* first mentions *bhāṣyavt*. i. The statement says that a prohibition (of shortening) should be stated (for *ambārtha* words) containing *d, l* or *k*. The examples, borrowed from Patañjali are *ambāde ambāle* and *ambike*, all three of them meaning 'o mother.' Here the *eT* substitution by P. 7.3.106 is applied.

The following statement mentioned by the *KV* says *chandasi vā* 'optionally in the Vedic language.' The examples quoted by the *KV* are *he ambāda/he ambāde, he ambāla/he ambāle* and *he ambika/he ambike*. The examples show the option for either applying P. 7.3.107 and P. 7.3.106. The statement is not found in Patañjali's *bhāṣya*.

5. Next, the *KV* quotes a slightly changed version of *bhāṣyavt*. ii. The *KV* version reads *talo hrasvo vā ṅisaṃbuddhyor iti vaktavyam* 'the statement should be made that after (a fem. word ending in the *taddhita* suffix) *taL* (P. 5.1.119) shortening is optionally applied before (the loc. case suffiix) *Ṅi* and before *saṃbuddhi*,' that is, in the sg. loc. and vocative. The examples provided by the *KV* for the sg. loc. is *devate/devatāyāṃ bhaktiḥ* 'devotion towards the deity' and for the sg. vocative *he devata/devate* 'o deity.' Following Patañjali, the *KV* adds that shortening is desired in the Vedic language only. The examples are borrowed from Patañjali. In the sg. loc. form *devatāyām* the augment *yāṬ* is applied by P. 7.3.113, whereas the loc. ending *Ṅi* is replaced by *ām*, by P. 7.3.116.

Bhāṣyavārttika ii actually reads *tvalhrasvataṃ vā ṅisaṃbuddhayoḥ* 'shortening of (the final of a word ending in the *taddhita* suffix) *taL* is optional before *Ṅi* and *saṃbuddhi*.' Patañjali then rejects this *bhāṣyavārttika* by referring to what looks like

part of a *Ślokavārttika*. The statement says *ambārthaṃ dvyakṣaraṃ yadi* '(shortening by P. 7.3.107 applies) if the *ambārtha* word consists of two syllables (only).' Thus when P. 7.3.107 applies, it applies to *ambā, akkā, allā*, but not to *ambādā, ambālā, ambikā*. Still, a special provision seems necessary for a fem. word like *devatā*, which ends in the suffix *taL*. But that also is not required because shortening necesarily takes place in the Vedic language. The (non-identified) example is *upagāyantu māṃ patnayo garbhiṇayo yuvatayaḥ* 'let pregnant wifes, young ones, approach me.' Here the plural forms are derived from the shortened fem. forms *patni* and *garbhiṇi*.

6. The *KV* finally quotes *bhāṣyavt*. iii. The statement reads *mātṝṇāṃ mātac putrārtham arhate* '*mātaC* comes in place of (bv. cps ending in) *mātṛ* "mother" (before *saṃbuddhi*) for a son, (that is, in order to be called a son), for a worthy one.' The *KV* explains that it is for that son who on account of his mother's name being illustrious deserves to be named after his mother. The example quoted is *he gārgīmata* 'o you whose mother is Gārgī.' The *bv*. cp. *gārgimātṛ* is formed by P. 2.2.24. Here, as stated by the *KV*, the *samāsānta* suffix *kaP* is applicable by P. 5.4.153. But that is overruled by the substitution of *mātaC* for °*mātṛ*. The *KV* ends by saying that the *C* of *mātaC* is added to ensure *antodātta* 'high pitch on the last syllable,' by P. 6.1.163.

In addition to *gārgīmāta*, Patañjali supplies the example *vātsīmāta* 'o you whose mother is Vātsî.'.

7.3.108 HRASVASYA GUṆAḤ 'a *guṇa* vowel (comes) in place of (the final phoneme of a nominal base *aṅga* ending in) a short vowel, (if the sg. vocative ending called *saṃbuddhi* follows immediately)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *guṇa* vowel for the final phoneme of a nominal base *aṅga* as qualified, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *hrasvasya* (*aṅgasya saṃbuddhau*). The term *hrasva* is defined by P. 1.2.27. *Hrasvasya* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. It is, therefore, interpreted to mean *hrasvāntasya* 'of (an *aṅga*) ending in short vowel' by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). *Hrasvasya* discontinues *ambārthanadyoḥ* from P. 7.3.107. *Aṅgasya* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, substitution takes place of the final phioneme of the *sthānin*. *Saṃbuddhau* is continued from P. 7.3.106. The *vidheya* is *guṇaḥ*. The term *guṇaḥ* has been defined by P. 1.1.2. According to P. 1.1.3, a *guṇa* vowel comes in place of an *iK*-vowel. *Guṇaḥ* cancels *hrasvah* from P. 7.3.107.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *he agne* 'o fire,' *he vāyo* 'o wind' and *he paṭo* 'o clever one.'

4. Following Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on the rule, the *KV* says that in forms like *he kumāri* 'o girl' and *he brahmabandhu* 'o negligent brahmin woman' *guṇa* is not applied on the strength of the rule for shortening. Both words are *nadî* words, quoted as examples for P. 7.3.107. The shortening prescribed by this rule would be redundant, if *guṇa* had been intended to apply by P. 7.3.108. Moreover, if *guṇa* had been intended, the *sūtrakāra* wouls have phrased P. 7.3.108 as *nadîhrasvayor guṇaḥ*, and, we may add, P. 7.3.107 as *ambārthānāṃ hrasvaḥ*.

5. We have no *Vts* on the rule, but there is a *bhāṣya*. Here Patañjali raises the question why P. 7.3.108 does not apply in the sg. vocatives *nadi* 'o river,' *kumāri* 'o girl', *brāhmiṇi* 'o brahmin woman' or *brahmabandhu* 'o negligent brahmin woman.' For the argument see under 4, above.

7.3.109 JASI CA 'also (a *guṇa* vowel comes in place of the final phoneme of a nominal base *aṅga* ending in a short vowel), if the (pl. nom. case ending) *Jas* follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *guṇa* vowel for the final vowel of a nominal base *aṅga* as qualified, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*hrasvasya aṅgasya*) *jasi*. For *hrasvasya aṅgasya* see P. 7.3.108, under 2. *Jas* is the pl. nom. case ending mentioned in P. 4.1.2. *Jasi* is a technical loc. It discontinues *saṃbuḍhau* from P. 7.3.106. The *vidheya* is (*guṇaḥ*), continued from P. 7.3.108.

The particle *ca* serves as a boundary marker. See *FANU*, p. 36, 232.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *agnayaḥ* 'fires,' *vāyavaḥ* 'winds,' *paṭavaḥ* 'clever ones,' *dhenavaḥ* 'cows' and *buddhayaḥ* 'notions.'

The derivation of *agnayas* is as follows:

(1) *agni* + *Jas*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *agne* + *as*	P. 7.3.109
(3) *agnay* + *as*	P. 6.1.78
agnayas.	

Similarly for the other examples.

4. The *KV* then quotes *Vts*. I and *II* on the rule, for which see under 5.

5. We have two *Vts* on the rule. *Vt*. I says that from P. 7.3.109 onwards up to inclusive P. 7.4.1 all rules are optionally applicable in the Vedic language. *Vt*. II quotes the examples. They are:

(a) *ambe* 'o mother' Here P. 7.3.107 is not applied. The alternative form is *amba*.

(b) *darvi* 'o ladle' Here P. 7.3.107 is not applied. The alternative form is *darve*.

(c) *śatákratvaḥ* 'ones having one hundred sacrifices'. Here P. 7.3.109 is not applied. The alternative form is *śatákratavaḥ*.

(d) *paśve nṛbhyaḥ* 'for an animal, for men' In *paśve* P. 7.3.111 is not applied. The alternative form is *paśave*.

(e) *kikidīvyā* 'by a blue jay' Here P. 7.3.120 is not applied. The alternative form is *kikidīvinā*.

The sources of most of the examples have been identified in the notes in the Kielhorn ed. (*Mbh*. III, p. 341).

7.3.110 ṚTO ṄISARVANĀMASTHĀNAYOḤ '(a *guṇa* vowel comes in place of the final phoneme of a nominal base *aṅga* ending in short *ṛ*,) if (the sg. loc. case ending) *Ṅi* or a *sarvanāsthāna* ending follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *guṇa* vowel for the final short vowel of a nominal base *aṅga*, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *ṛtaḥ* (*aṅgasya*) *ṅisarvanāsthānayoḥ* The function of the *anubandha T* in *ṛtah* has been defined by P. 1.1.70. *Ṛtaḥ* qualifies *aṅgasya*, and is, therefore, interpreted to mean *ṛd-antasya* 'of (an *aṅga* ending in short *ṛ*.' *Ṛtaḥ* discontinues *hrasvasya* from P. 7.3.108. *Aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1, is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, substitution takes place of the final phoneme of the *sthānin*. *Ṅisarvanāmasthāyoḥ* is a *dvandva* used as a technical (du.)

loc. by P. 1.1.66. *Ṅi* is the sg. loc. case ending mentioned in P. 4.1.2. *Sarvanāmasthāna* is the name given to all nom. case endings, the non-ntr. sg. and du. case endings, and the ntr. pl. nom. and acc. case endings by P. 1.1.42-43. The *vidheya* is (*guṇaḥ*), continued from P. 7.3.108.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *Ṅi*: *mātari* 'with regard to the mother,' *pitari* 'with regard to the father,' *bhrātari* 'with regard to the brother' and *kartari* 'with regard to the agent'

(b) For *sarvanāmasthāna* endings: *kartārau* 'the two agents,' *kartāraḥ* 'agents.' *mātarau* 'the two mothers,' *pitarau* 'the two parents' and *bhrātarau* 'the two brothers'

The derivation of *pitari* is as follows:

(1) *pitṛ* + *Ṅi* — P. 4.1.2
(2) *pitar* + *i* — P. 7.3.110; 1.1.51
pitari.

Similarly for the other *Ṅi* examples.

The derivation of *kartāraḥ* is as follows:

(1) *kartṛ* + *Jas* — P. 4.1.2
(2) *kartar* + *as* — P. 7.3.110; 1.1.51
(3) *kartār* + *as* — P. 6.4.11
kartāras.

Similarly for the other *sarvanāmasthāna* examples.

4. The *KV* finally says that the *T* in *ṛtaḥ* is not really required. It is for ease of pronunciation only. The *Nyāsa* explains that before the sg. loc ending. and before the *sarvanāmasthāna* endings there is no long vowel in final position of the *aṅga* which must be ruled out.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.111 GHER ṄITI '(a *guṇa* vowel comes) in place of' (the final phoneme of a nominal base *aṅga* which is called) *ghi*, if (a case suffix) marked with Ṅ follows immediately'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a *guṇa* vowel for the final vowel of specified nominal stems, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is *gheḥ* (*aṅgasya*) *ṅiti*. *Ghi*, defined by P. 1.4.7, is the cover term for nominal stems ending in *i* or *u*, excluding *sakhi* and the stems which are called *nadī* optionally. The *KV*, however, maintains that *ghi* is the cover term for *i* and *u*. Then, because *gheḥ* qualifies *aṅgasya*, the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72) is applied. That gives us *ghy-antasya*. *Gheḥ* discontinues *ṛtaḥ0* from P. 7.3.110. *Aṅgasya*, continued from P. 6.4.1, is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, substitution takes place of the final phoneme of the *sthānin*. *Ṅiti* is a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66. The case endings marked with Ṅ are *Ṅe* (sg. dat.), *ṄasI* (sg. abl.), *Ṅas* (sg. gen.) and *Ṅi* (sg. loc.). Regularly, the *anubandha* Ṅ prohibits *guṇavṛddhī* of the vowel preceding the *Ṅit* suffix, by P.1.1.5. But the present rule specially prescribes *guṇa* before a *Ṅit* suffix. *Niti* cancels *nisarvanāmasthānayoh* from P. 7.3.110. The *vidheya* is (*guṇaḥ*), continued from P. 7.3.108.

3. The examples quotes by the *KV* are:

(a) For *Ṅe*: *agnaye* 'for the fire' and *vāyave* 'for the wind'

(b) For *ṄasI*: *agner āgacchati* 'he comes from the fire' and *vāyor āgacchati* 'he comes from the wind'

(c) For *Ṅas*: *agneḥ svam* 'what belongs to fire' and *vāyoḥ svam* 'what belongs to the wind'

(d) For *Ṅi*: See under P. 7.3.110.

4. To point out the significance of the word *gheḥ* in the rule, the *KV* quotes the counterexamples *sakhye* 'for a friend' (see Whitney, § 343 a) and *patye* 'for the master' (see Whitney, § 343 d). P. 1.4.8 prohibits the designation *ghi* for *pati*, when not used in a cp.

To point out the significance of the condition *Ṅiti*, the *KV* quotes the counterexample *agnibhyām* 'by/for/from the two fires.' The case ending *bhyām* is not *Ṅit*. Therefore *guṇa* of the preceding vowel by P. 7.3.111 is not applied.

5. Following *Vt*. I and II on the rule, the *KV* emphasizes that the rule applies in connection with case endings only. The counterexamples, borrowed from Patañjali, are *paṭvī* 'a clever one' (sg. nom. fem.) and the du. 3rd person pres. tense *kurutaḥ* 'the two of them make.' In *paṭvī* the fem. suffix *ṄĪṢ* has been added by P. 4.1.44. Since *ṄiṢ* is not a case ending, *guṇa* by P. 7.3.111 is prohibited. *YaṆ-ādeśa* is by P. 6.1.77. In *kurutas* the finite verb ending *tas* is a *sārvadhātuka* suffix (P. 3.4.113). It is *Ṅit* by P. 1.2.4. But *tas* is not a case ending. Therefore no *guṇa*, by P. 1.1.5.

6. We have two *Vts*. on the rule. *Vt*. I mentions the rule to which it belongs. The *Vt*. says that with regard to the prescription of *guṇa* by P. 7.3.111 a prohibition should be stated for (the fem. suffixes called) *ṄĪ* and for *sārvadhātuka* suffixes. The examples quoted by Patañjali are *paṭvī* and *mṛdvi* 'soft' (sg. nom. fem.), and *kurutas*.

Vt. II says that we can manage on account of the prescription of *suP*. What the *Vt*. proposes is to continue *suP* from P. 7.3.102 whether by *maṇḍūkapluti* or by continuing it, possibly redundantly, in the intervening rules up to P. 7.3.111 inclusive. Obviously, *ṄĪ* and *tas* are not case endings.

7. The present rule closes the sub-section dealing with vowel substitutions. starting from P. 7.3.107.

7.3.112 ĀṆ NADYĀḤ '(the augment) *āṬ* (is added to a case ending marked with *Ṅ* coming after (the nominal base *aṅgas* called) *nadī*'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the augment *āṬ* for a *Ṅit* case ending after specified *aṅgas*. The present rule opens a subsection dealing with augments up to P. 7.3.115 inclusive.

2. The *uddeśya* is *nadyāḥ* (*aṅgāt ṅiti*). *Nadî* is the cover term for the fem. suffixes *î* and *ū* forming fem. nominal *aṅgas*, by P. 1.4.3, and, marginally, for nominal stems ending in short *i* and *u*, provided that a *Ṅit* case ending follows. See *AP* IV, P. 1.4.3, under 8, and P. 1.4.6 (b). *Nadyāḥ* qualifies *aṅgāt*, and is, therefore, interpreted to mean *nadyantāt* 'after (an *aṅga*) ending in a suffix called *nadī*' by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). *Nadyāḥ* cancels *gheḥ* from P. 7.3.111. *Aṅgāt* is continued (with *vibhaktivi-pariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Ṅiti* is continued as a technical loc. by P. 1.1.66 from P. 7.3.111. Since P. 7.3.112 contains both an abl. (*aṅgāt*) and a loc. (*ṅiti*), *PN*, *pbh*. 70 tells us that the term used in the abl. has a greater force than the term used in the loc. That is to say, the term in the loc. is interpreted in the sense of a genitive.

So what we get is *nadyantāt aṅgāt ṅitaḥ āṭ* '*āṬ* is added to a *Ṅit* suffix coming after an *aṅga* ending in (a suffix termed) *nadī*,' which is how the *KV* interprets the rule. Compare P. 7.3.93, under 2. The *KV* supplies the word *pratyayasya* in connection with *ṅitaḥ* on account of the stem-suffix relation intended by P. 6.4.1. The *vidheya* is *āṬ*. By P. 1.1.46 *āṬ* becomes the initial part of the *Ṅit* case ending. *ĀṬ* cancels *guṇaḥ* from P. 7.3. 108.

The *KV* does not continue the word *supi* from P. 7.3.102. But see P. 7.3.111, under 6 (*Vt*. II).

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *kumāryai* 'for a youg girl,' *brahmabandhvai* 'for a negligent brahmin woman,' *kumāryāḥ* 'from/of a young girl' and *brahmabandhvāḥ* 'from/of a negligent brahmin woman.' The *Nyāsa* explains that in the examples *vṛddhi* is applied by P. 6.1.90.

The *prakriyā* of *kumāryai* is as follows:

(1) *kumārī* + *Ṅe*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *kumārī* + *āṬ-e*	P. 7.3.112
(3) *kumārī* + *ai*	P. 6.1.90
(4) *kumāry* + *ai*	P. 6.1.77
kumāryai.	

The fem. suffix added in the case of *brahmabandhū* is *ūN*, by P. 4.1.66.

4. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.113 YĀḌ ĀPAḤ '(the augment) *yāṬ* (is added to a case ending marked with *Ṅ* coming) after (a nominal base *aṅga* ending in a fem suffix called) *āP*'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the augment *yāṬ* for a *Ṅit* case ending after a fem stem in *āP*.

2. The *uddeśya* is *āpaḥ* (*aṅgāt ṅiti*). For *āpaḥ*, interpreted as *ābantasya*, see P. 7.3.105, under 2. *Āpaḥ* discontinues *nadyāḥ* from P. 7.3.112. *Aṅgāt* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Ṅiti* is continued as a technical loc. from P. 7.3.111. For the construction of the abl. (*aṅgāt*) and the loc. (*ṅiti*) see P. 7.3.112, under 2. The *KV* supplies the word *pratyayasya* in connection with *ṅitaḥ* on account of the stem-suffix relation intended by P. 6.4.1. The *vidheya* is *yāṬ*. It cancels *āṬ* from P. 7.3.112.

The *KV* makes no mention of continuing *supi* from P. 7.3.102. See P. 7.3.112, under 2.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *Ṅe*: *khaṭvāyai* 'for a bed,' *bahurājayai* 'for a fem item possessing many kings,' *kārīṣagandhyāyai* 'for a female descendant of Karīṣagandhi'

(b) For *ṄasI/Ṅas*: *khaṭvāyāḥ* 'from/of a bed,' *kārīṣagandhyāyāh* 'from/of a female descendant of Karīṣagandhi' and *bahurājāyāh* 'from/of a fem item possessing many kings.'

The derivation of *khaṭvāyai* is as follows:

(1)	*khaṭvā + Ṅe*	P. 4.1.2
(2)	*khaṭvā + yāṬ-e*	P. 7.3.113
(3)	*khaṭvā + yai*	P. 6.1.88
	khaṭvāyai.	

The derivation of *kārīṣagandhyāyās* is as follows:

(1)	*kārīṣagandhyā + ṄasI / Ṅas*	P. 4.2.1
(2)	*kārīṣagandhyā + yāṬ-as*	P. 7.3.113
(3)	*kārīṣāgandhyā + yās*	P. 6.1.101
	kārīṣagandhyāyās.	

P. 7.3.113 also applies when deriving the sg. loc. by P. 7.3.116.

4. Following *Vt.* I on the rule and Patañjali's *bhāṣya* here, the *KV* raises the question why in the masc. sg. dat. form *atikhaṭvāya* 'for one who has violated the (nuptial) bed' P. 7.3.113 is not applied. For the derivation of the form see *STHĀNI*, Pt. I, p.101. The answer consists of two parts. First, in *atikhaṭva* shortening of the final *āP* vowel has taken place by P. 1.2.44. Here we cannot say that the form still ends in *āP* by *sthānivadbhāva*, and apply P. 7.3.113, because of the statement *ṅyābgrahaṇe adīrghaḥ* 'when mention is of (the fem. suffixes) *ṄĪ* or *āP*, the (resulting) non-long vowel (is not treated as *sthānivat*).' The statement, actually, *Vt.* XX on P. 1.1.56, was earlier referred to by the *KV* on P. 7.3.105. See also *STHĀNI*, Pt. I, p. 101. Secondly, if in the derivational stage *atihhaṭva* (where shortening of the final *āP* vowel is applied by P. 1.2.44) + *Ṅe*, we apply lengthening of the shortened vowel by P. 7.3.102, the result is *atikhaṭvā + ya*. Here the stem appears as *atikhaṭvā*. But

we here cannot apply P. 7.3.113, because the long final vowel *ā* is *lākṣaṇika* 'resulting from the application of a rule.' Reference is to *PN, pbh.* 105. The long vowel is not the original *āP* vowel of *khatvā*. Therefore we cannot apply P. 7.3.113. The *KV* phrases this by saying that when lengthening is not applied (by P. 7.3.102), we cannot apply P. 7.3.113 because of the statement referred to. This is the first part of the answer. But when lengthening is applied, we cannot apply P. 7.3.113, because the resulting long *ā* is *lākṣaṇika*. This is the second part of the answer.

5. We have one *Vt*. on the rule. It mentions the rule to which it refers. It says that in P. 7.3.113 we do not require a prohibition of *yāT*, because of the substitution of a short vowel (by P. 1.2.44). For Patañjali's argument see under 5.

7.3.114 (a) SARVANĀMNAḤ ŚYĀṬ '(the augment) *syāṬ* (is added to a case ending marked with *Ṅ* coming) after (a pronominal base *aṅga* called) *sarvanāman*, (ending in a fem. suffix called *āP*)'

1. This is not the original rule P. 7.3.114. We propose to split rule into two, as follows:

P. 7.3.114 (a) *sarvanāmnaḥ syāṭ*

P. 7.3.114 (b) *hrasvaṁ ca*

We have two reasons for doing so. First, the word *ca* should not come after the third word in a rule. See *FANU*, p. 232. Secondly, *ca* in the A. serves as a rule boundary. Thereby *hrasvaḥ* is marked off as a separate rule. This should not be taken to mean that P. 7.3.114 (a) and P. 7.3.114 (b) are unconnected as far as rule application is concerned. In fact, they are co-applied. See *FANU*, p. 36, 98-99.

2. P. 7.3.114 (a) is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the augment *syāṬ* for a nominal base *aṅga* as qualified, on the condition stated.

3. The *uddeśya* is (*āpaḥ*) *sarvanāmnaḥ* (*angāt ṅiti*). *Āpaḥ*, interpreted as *ābantāt* by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72), is continued from P. 7.3.113. *Sarvanāman* is the name given to *sarva*, etc. by P. 1.1.27. See *AP* I, P. 1.1.27, under 3. The *gaṇa* includes pronominal adjectives and pronouns. *Sarvanāmnaḥ* stands in an appositional relation with *aṅgāt*, which is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Ṅiti* is continued as a technical loc. from P. 7.3.111. For the construction of the abl. (*aṅgāt*) and the loc. (*ṅiti*) see P. 7.3.112, under 2. The *KV* supplies the word *pratyayasya* in

connection with *ṅitaḥ* on account of the stem-suffix relation intended by P. 6.4.1. The *vidheya* is *syāṬ*. It cancels *yāṬ* from P. 7.3.113.

4. For the examples quoted by the *KV* and further discussion see under P. 7.3.114 (b).

7.3.114 (b) HRASVAŚ CA 'also a short vowel (comes in place of the final phoneme of the pronominal base *(aṅga)*'

1. For the proposed division of the traditional rule and the meaning of *ca* (co-application of the (a) and (b) rules in one and the same derivation) see P. 7.3.114 (a), under 1.

2. P. 7.3.114 (b) is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of a short vowel for the vowel in final position of a pronominal base *aṅga* ending in the fem. suffixes called *āP* before a *Ṅit* suffix.

3. The *uddeśya* is (*āpaḥ sarvanāmnaḥ aṅgāt ṅiti*). See P. 7.3.114 (a), under 3. The *vidheya* is *hrasvaḥ*. The term *hrasva* is defined by P. 1.2.27.

4. The examples for the undivided rule P. 7.3.114 quoted by the *KV* are

(a) For *Ṅe*: *sarvasyai* 'for everyone (fem.),' *viśvasyai* 'for all' (fem.), *yasyai* 'for whom' (fem.), *tasyai* 'for that one' (fem.), *kasyai* 'for which/whom?' and *anyasmai* 'for another one' (fem.)

(b) For *ṄasI/Ṅas*: *sarvasyāḥ* 'from/of everyone' (fem.), *viśvasyāḥ* 'from/of all' (fem.), *yasyāḥ* 'from/of which/whom' (fem.), *tasyāḥ* 'from/of that one' (fem.), *kasyāḥ* 'from/of which/whom?' (fem.) and *anyasyāḥ* 'from/of another one' (fem.).

The derivation of *sarvasyai* is as follows;

(1)	*sarva* + *ṬāP*	P. 4.1.4
(2)	*sarvā*	P. 6.1.101
(3)	*sarvā* + *Ṅe*	P. 4.1.2
(4)	*sarva* + *syāṬ* + *e*	P. 7.3.114 (a) and (b)
(5)	*sarva* + *syai*	P. 6.1.88
	sarvasyai.	

Similarly for the other dat. examples.

The derivation of *sarvasyās* is as follows:

(3) *sarvā* + *ṄasI/Ṅas* P. 4.1.2
(4) *sarva* + *syāṬ* + *as* P. 7.3.114 (a) and (b)
(5) *sarva* + *syās* P. 6.1.101
sarvasyās.

Similarly for the other abl./gen. examples. For the *Ṅi* forms P. 7.3.116 is to be applied in addition.

5. The *KV* emphasizes that P. 7.3.114 (a) and (b) apply to stems ending in *āP* only. The counterexample is the pronominal form *bhavate* 'for you, sir.'

6. We note that, according to P. 1.1.27, only items listed in the *sarvādi-gaṇa* are included under the designation *sarvanāman*, and that, according to P. 1.1.29, the designation *sarvanāman* does not apply to *sarva*, etc., when forming part of a *bv.* cp. Thus, although *bahurājā* 'a fem. item having many kings' and *kārīṣagandhyā* 'a female descendant of Karīṣagandhi' end in *āP* (*ḌāP*, P. 4.1.13 and *CāP*, P. 4.1.74 respectively), they are not called *sarvanāman*. Thus here P. 7.3.114 does not apply.

7. There is no *bhāṣya* on the undivided rule P. 7.3.114.

7.3.115 VIBHĀṢĀ DVITĪYĀTṚTĪYĀBHYĀM '(the augment *syāṬ* is) preferably not (added to a case ending marked with *Ṅ* coming) after the nominal base *aṅga*) *dvitīyā* or *tṛtīyā* (ending in a fem. suffix called *āP*)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the non-preferred addition of the augment *syāṬ* for a *Ṅit* case ending after two specified ordinals used in the fem. The option holds for the addition of the augment as well as for the concurrent shortening of the final *aṅga* vowel by P. 7.3.114 (b).

2. The *uddeśya* is (*āpaḥ*) *dvitīyātṛtīyābhyām* (*aṅgābhyāṃ ṅiti sarvanāmnaḥ*). *Āpaḥ*, interpreted as *āb-antābhyām* by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72), is continued from P. 7.3.113. *Dvitīyātṛtīyābhyām*, a *dvandva* formation of two fem. stems, stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgābhyām*. The du. abl. *aṅgābhyām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Ṅiti* is continued as a technical loc. from P. 7.3.111. For the construction of the abl. (*aṅgābhyām*) and the loc. (*ṅiti*) see P. 7.3.112, under 2. The *KV* supplies the word *pratyayasya* in connection with *ṅitaḥ* on account of the stem-suffix relation intended by P. 6.4.1. The word *sarvanāmnaḥ* from P. 7.3.114 (a) is continued. The *vidheya* is *vibhāṣā* (*syāṭ hrasvaḥ*), where *syāt hrasvaḥ* is continued

from P. 7.2.114. For the meaning assigned to *vibhāṣā* see Kiparsky 1979, p. 1, and for a short discussion, p. 26-27. The option has not been noted by Whitney under § 487 h.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *Ṅe*: *dvitīyasyai/dvitīyāyai* 'for the second one' (fem.) and *tṛtīyasyai/tṛtīyāyai* 'for the third one' (fem.). The preferred forms are mentioned in second position.

(b) For *ṄasI/Ṅas*: The *KV* mentions no examples, but they can be easily supplied as *dvitīyasyāḥ/dvitīyāyāḥ* and *trtīyasyāḥ/trtīyāyāḥ*.

For the *Ṅi* forms P. 7.3.116 is to be applied in addition.

The derivation of *dvitīyasyai* is as follows:

(1)	*dvitīya* + *ṬāP*			P. 4.1.4
(2)	*dvitīyā*			P. 6.1.101
(3)	*dvitīyā*		+ *Ṅe*	P. 4.1.2
(4)	*dvitīya*	+ *syāṬ*	+ *e*	P. 7.3.115
(5)	*dvitīya*	+ *syai*		P. 6.1.88
	dvitīyasyai.			

The derivation of *dvitīyāyai* is as follows:

(3)	*dvitīyā*		+ *Ṅe*	P. 4.1.2
(4)	*dvitīyā*	+ *yāṬ*	+ *e*	P. 7.3.113
(5)	*dvitīyā*	+ *yai*		P. 6.1.88
	dvitīyāyai.			

4. The *Nyāsa* notes a divergence of opinion. Reference is to *Vt*. III on P. 1.1.36, which says *vāprakaraṇe tīyasya ṅitsūpakhyānam* 'in the context of *vā* inclusion is to be made of (forms ending in) *tīya* before *Ṅit* case endings' What the *Vt*. means is that words formed with the *taddhita* suffix *tīya* (P. 5.2.54-55), like *dvitīya, tṛtīya*, are optionally called *sarvanāman* before *Ṅit* case endings. The *Nyāsa* explains that, according to some grammarians, we can do away with P. 7.3.115, because we can manage by the *Vt*. In any case, inclusion of *tīya* derivatives under *sarvanāmans* is to be made in order to have the pronominal case ending *smai* (and *smin*) as an optional substitute in the sg. dat. (and loc.). In this way, we can justify the alter-

native forms *dvitīyasmai/dvitīyāya* and *dvitīyasmin/dvitīye*. But there are other grammarians who reject this idea of doing away with P. 7.3.115. Instead, they dismiss *Vt*. III. They do so by continuing the word *sarvanāmnaḥ* from P. 7.3.114 in P. 7.3.115, and by discontinuing *syāṬ* from P. 7.3.114. Accordingly, the words in P. 7.3.115 are to be connected as follows: *sarvanāmno ṅiti yad uktaṃ tad vibhāṣā dvitīyā-tṛtīyābhyāṃ bhavati* 'what was stated as *sarvanāmno ṅiti*, that becomes optional for *dvitīyā* and *tṛtīyā*.' When interpreted in this sense, the *smai*-substitution is also taken care of by P. 7.3.115. Therefore there is no need for inclusion of *tīya*-derivatives under the designation *sarvanāman*.

In his *bhāṣya* on P. 1.1.36 Patañjali refers to P. 7.3.115, and quotes the alternative forms *dvitīyayai/dvitīyasyai, tṛtīyāyai/tṛtīyasyai, dvitīyāya/dvitīyasmai* and *tṛtīyāya/tṛtīyasmai*.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

6. The present rule closes the sub-section starting from P. 7.3.112.

7.3.116 ṆER ĀṂ NADY-ĀM-NĪ-BHYAḤ *'ām* comes in place of *Ṅi* coming after (a nominal base *aṅga* ending in what is called) *nadī*, or (in a fem. suffix called) *āP*, or (ending in) *nī* "leader" '

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *ām* for the sg. loc. case ending *Ṅi* after specified *aṅgas*. P. 7.3.116 starts a sub-section dealing with substitutions for two case endings, *Ṅi* (four rules) and the case ending called *āṄ*. (one rule), up to P. 7.3.120, inclusive.

2. The *uddeśya* is *nadyāmnībhyaḥ* (*aṅgebhyaḥ*) *ṅeḥ*. For *nadī* see P. 1.4.3 and 6, and P. 7.3.112, under 2. For *āP* see P. 7.3.105, under 2. The sandhi change *p* + *n* → *m* + *n* is by P. 8.4.45. See Whitney, § 161. The *nī* mentioned in the rule is the second element in *upapada* formations like *senānī* 'army commander.' *Nadyāmnībhyaḥ* is a *dvandva* cp. qualifying *aṅgebhyaḥ*. It is therefore interpreted as *nadyāmny-antebhyaḥ* 'ending in *nadī*, or in *āP*, or in *nī*' by *PN, pbh*. 23. It discontinues *dvitīyātṛtīyābhyām* from P. 7.3.115. *Aṅgebhyaḥ* is a technical abl. by P. 1.1.67, continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Neh* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. Reference is to the sg. loc. case ending *Ṅi* (P. 4.1.2). The option word *vibhāṣā* from P. 7.3.115 is discontinued because of the change of *vidheya*. See *FANU*, p. 272, convention 24. The *vidheya* is *ām*. It cancels *syāṬ* from P. 7.3.114.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:

(a) For *nadī*: *kumāryām* 'regarding a young girl,' *gauryām* 'regarding Gaurī,' *brahmabandhvām* 'regarding a negligent brahmin woman' and *dhībandhvām* 'regarding a woman who is intelligent in name only' For *kumārī* and *brahmabandhū* compare *AP* IV, p. 43.

(b) For *āP*: *khaṭvāyām* 'on the bed,' *bahurājāyām* 'regarding a fem. item which has many kings,' which is *ḌāP-anta* by P. 4.1.13, and *kārīṣagandhyāyām* 'regarding a female descendant of Karīṣagandhi,' which is *CāP-anta* by P. 4.1.74.

(c) For *nī*: *rājanyām* 'regarding a leader of kings' and *senānyām* 'regarding an army commander'

The derivation of *rājanyām* is as follows:

(1)	((*rājan* + *Śas*) + *nī*)) + *KviP*	P. P. 3.2.61
(2)	((*rājan* + °) + *nī*)) + *vi*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	(*rājan* + *nī*) + °	P. 6.1.67
(4)	(*rājan* + *nī*) + *Ṅi*	P. 4.2.1
(5)	(*rājan* + *nī*) + *ām*	P. 7.3.116
(6)	(*rājan* + *ny*) + *ām*	P. 6.4.82
(7)	*rāja*° + *ny* + *ām*	P. 8.2.7
	rājanyām.	

Grāmaṇī (with retroflex *ṇ*) is a *nipātana* by P. 5.2.76. Compare also the *Vt.*-like statement *agragrāmābhyāṃ nayeter ṇo vācyaḥ* in *SK*, No 2975, on P. 3.2.61, which justifies the retroflex *n* in *agraṇī* and *grāmaṇī*. The general rule for *ṇatva* occasioned by a phoneme belonging to the *pūrvapada* of a cp. is P. 8.4.3. The *KV* on this rule mentions that, according to some grammarians *(kecid)*, *ṇatva* is applied after a *pūrvapada*, if the cp. as a whole is a *saṃjña* 'name/title.'

4. For an analysis of the rules P. 1.4.5 and 6, which define the term *nadī*, we refer to Kiparsky 1979, p. 93, who refers to Renou. According to Renou, in classical Sanskrit the loc. ending *ām* is less favoured than the ending *au*. We also refer to Whitney, § 336 g, who says that the later grammar allows the sg. loc. of fem. stems in *i* and *u* to be formed at will with the fuller fem. termination, namely, *ām*. Whitney adds that such forms are quite rare in the oldest language even from *i*-stems. From *u*-stems they are almost unknown.

5. We have two *Vts* on the rule. *Vt*. I deals with P. 7.3.116 in a rather indirect way, via P. 7.3.117 and 118. The *Vārttikakāra* assumes that these latter two

rules were originally one rule, read as *idudbhyām aut*. It says that *auT* comes in place of the sg. loc. ending *Ṅi* added after (an *aṅga* ending in) short *i* or (after an *aṅga* ending in) short *u*. In this rule the *vidheya ām* from P. 7.3.116 is cancelled by *auT*. This, supposedly, creates a difficulty in justifying forms like *śakatyām* 'on a cart,' *paddhatyām* 'on a path/in a manual' and *dhenvām* 'regarding a cow,' which show a sg. loc. in *ām*, not in *auT*.

Vt. I on P. 7.3.116 says that the rule *idudbhyām ām* '*ām* (comes in place of the sg. loc. ending *Ṅi*) after (a nominal base *aṅga* ending in) short *i* or *u*' should be stated, because (otherwise) the *auT*-substitution, being prescribed by the *para* 'later' rule (would prevail). That is to say, the sg. loc. ending *ām*, prescribed by P. 7.3.116 for *nadī* stems would be overruled by the *auT* ending for stems in short *i* or *u* in all cases, according to *paravipratiṣedha* 'conflict procedure in which the later rule prevails.' Reference is to P. 1.4.2. Accordingly, the only derivable forms would be *ṁakatau*, *padhatau* and *dhenau*. This is not desired.

Vt. II says that we can manage by splitting the original rule. Patañjali specifies the resulting sequence of rules. First we have P. 7.3.116, *ner ām nadyāmnībhyaḥ*. Then comes the new rule *idudbhyām* - P. 7.3.117 in the present text of the A. -, in which *ṅer ām* is continued from P. 7.3.116. Thereby we justify the usages *śakatyām*, *paddhatyām* and *dhenvām*. Then comes a rule formulated as *aud ac ca gheḥ*, that is, the combination of what presently is P. 7.3.118 and 119.

Actually, the division of the original rule *idudbhyām aut* proposed by the *Vārttikakāra* is not required. We recall that the term *nadī* includes both long *ī* and *ū*, and short *i* and *u*, as stem finals of fem. words by P. 1.4.3 and 1.4.6 (marginally, with the provision that a *Ṅit* case ending must follow). Accordingly, we will interpret P. 7.3.116 as (a) *īdūdbhyām nadīsaṃjñākābhyāṃ parasya ṅer ām* '*ām* comes in place of *Ṅi* added after (a fem. stem ending in) long *ī* or after (a fem. stem ending in) long *ū* which are technically called *nadī*,' and (b) *idudbhyāṃ nadīsaṃjñākābhyāṃ ṅer ām* '*ām* comes in place of *Ṅi* added after (a fem. stem ending in) short *i* or after (a fem. stem ending in) short *u* which are marginally called *nadī*.' Then comes the original rule (P. 7.3.117-118 in the present text of the A.). It says *idudbhyām aut*, that is, *idudbhyāṃ parasya ṅer aut* '*auT* comes in place of *Ṅi* added after (a stem ending in) short *i* or after (a stem ending in) short *u*.' The difference with P. 7.3.116 (b) is that this rule specifically mentions *nadī*, whereas P. 7.3.117-118 does not. Therefore, P. 7.3.116 (b) being the special rule (*apavāda*), overrules P. 7.3.117-118 in its own domain by the *utsarga-apavāda-nyāya*. The question of *paravipratiṣedha* simply does not arise. For the division of the rules and their respective domains see also the Excursus on P. 7.3.118.

7.3.117 IDUDBHYĀM '(*ām* comes in place of *Ṅi* coming) after (a nominal base *aṅga* called *nadī* ending in) short *i*, or after (a nominal base *aṅga* called *nadī* ending in) short *u*'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *ām* for the sg. loc. case ending *Ṅi* after specified nominal base *aṅgas*. The *sūtra* is assumed to accommodate examples for marginal *nadī* fem. stems by P. 1.4.6.

2. The *uddeśya* is *idudbhyām* (*nadīsaṃjñākābhyām aṅgābhyāṃ ṅeḥ*). *Idudbhyām* is a du. abl. which requires *aṅgābhyām* as the item qualified. Since *idudbhyām* qualifies *aṅgābhyām*, it is interpreted as *idud-antābhyām* 'after (an *aṅga*) ending in *iT* or after (an *aṅga*) ending in *uT*" by the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). The function of the *anubandha T* is defined by P. 1.1.70. The *KV* specifically continues *nadī* from the *dvandva* cp. *nadyāmnībhyaḥ* in P. 7.3.116. *Aṅgābhyām* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) as a technical abl. by P. 1.1.67 from P. 6.4.1. *Ṅeḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.116. The *vidheya* is *ām*, continued from P. 7.3.116. P. 7.3.117 is an exception (*apavāda*) to P. 7.3.118. See further P. 7.3.116, under 5.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are:
(a) For fem. *aṅgas* in short *i*: *kṛtyām* 'regarding a composition'
(b) For fem. *aṅgas* in short *u*: *dhenvām* 'regarding a cow'

Kṛti and *dhenu* were quoted earlier by the *KV* as examples for P. 1.4.6. See *AP* IV, p. 51.

4. To summarize, as far as *nadī* is concerned, examples for P. 7.3.116, *ṅer āṃ nadyānībhyaḥ*, are fem. stems ending in long *ī*, like *kumārī*. They come under *nadī* defined by P. 1.4.3 Examples for P. 7.3.117, (*ṅer ām nady*) *idudbhyām*, for fem. stems ending in short *i* and *u* are *śakaṭi* and *dhenu*. They come under *nadī* defined by P. 4.1.6.

5. There is no *bhāṣya* on the rule.

7.3.118 AUT '*auT* (comes in place of *Ṅi* coming after a nominal base *aṅga* ending in short *i*, or after a nominal base *aṅga* ending in short *u*)'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substiution of *auT* for the sg. loc. case ending *Ṅi* added after specified nominal bases.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*idudbhyām aṅgābhyāṃ ṅeḥ*). *Idudbhyām* is continued from P. 7.3.117. Here the item *uT* is redundantly continued, because there are no examples for stems in short *u*. For *idudbhyām* see P. 7.3.117, under 2. The word *nadī* from P. 7.3.116 is discontinued. on the basis of *sāmarthya*. That is to say, it must be discontinued, because otherwise we cannot differentiate the domains of P. 7.3.117 and 118. See P. 7.3.116, under 5. *Aṅgābhyām* is a technical abl. by P. 1.1.67. It is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *Ṅeḥ* is a technical gen. continued from P. 7.3.116. The *vidheya* is *auT*. The *T* has been added *uccāraṇārtham* 'for ease of pronunciation.'

The *KV* expressly notes that the *au* comes in place of *Ṅi* which comes after (a stem ending in) *i*, or (a stem ending in) *u*. Thereby the domain of P. 7.3.118 is delimited by not being restricted to either *nadī* stems or *ghi* stems. On the other hand, P. 7.3.117 is restricted to fem. *aṅgas* in short *i* or *u* which are marginally called *nadī*, and which, consequently, are preferably called *ghi*. P. 7.3.119 applies to *aṅgas* called *ghi*.

3. The *KV* further notes that the examples for this rule are neither called *nadī* nor *ghi*. For *ghi* see P. 1.4.7. Reference to the stems called *ghi* is made by P. 7.3.119. The examples for P. 7.3.118 quoted by the *KV* are the masc. forms *sakhyau* 'with regard to a friend' and *patyau* 'with regard to the husband.' The choice of the examples is intentional, because *sakhi* is excluded from the designation *ghi* by P. 1.4.7, and *pati* is called *ghi* only as a cp. constituent, by P. 1.4.8. For *sakhi* and *pati* compare Whitney, § 343 a and d.

The derivation of *sakhyau* is as follows:

(1) *sakhi* + *Ṅi*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *sakhi* + *auT*	P. 7.3.118
(3) *sakhy* + *au*	P. 6.1.77
sakhyau.	

Similarly for *patyau*.

4. There is no separate *bhāṣya* on the rule. Patañjali has grouped P. 7.3.118 and 119 together for *Vārttikas* and comment.

EXCURSUS on the division of rules in the section covered by P.7.3.116-119

(1) *Ṅer āṃ nadyāmnībhyaḥ*, P. 7.3.116. We accept the text as it is. As regards the word *nadī*, the domain of the rule has been delimited by P. 1.4.3 (fem. stems ending in long *ī* and *ū*) and 6 (marginally, fem. stems ending in short *i* and *u* before *Ṅit* suffixes). Among the examples quoted for P. 1.4.3 are *kumarī* and *brahmabandhū*. The examples quoted for P. 1.4.6 are *kṛti* and *dhenu* P. 7.3.116 deals with the *ām*-substitution for *Ṅi*.

(2) *Idudbhyām aut*, P. 7.3.117. We accept this as the original text. Since *nadī* stems are covered by P. 7.3.116, is given, the domain of this rule is formed by non-*nadī* stems ending in short *i* or *u*. P. 7.3.117. But which are the non-*nadī* stems? They are, first, non-fem. stems in short *i* or *u*, but also those fem. stems in short *i* or *u* for which an option is left by P. 1.4.6 before a *Ṅit* case ending. P. 7.3.117 deals with the *auT*-substitution for *Ṅi*. However, the option available by P. 1.4.6 leaves room for the *ām*-substitution also, given a following *Ṅit* suffix. Thus among the examples for P. 7.3.117 are *agni* and *vāyu*, which are masc. *ghi* stems, *sakhi* and *pati*, and also *śakati, paddhati, dhenu*, which are fem. stems. For the latter examples we have alternative sg. loc. forms, like *śakaṭau/śākaṭyām* and *dhenau/dhenvām* where the forms in *au* are the preferred ones.

(3) *Ac ca gheḥ*, P. 7.3.118. We accept this as the original text. The domain of the rule is formed by *ghi* stems. *Ghi* is defined as *śesaḥ asakhi* by P. 1.4.7. Accordingly, the stems covered are non-fem. stems in short *i* or *u*, and also those fem. stems in *i* or *u* which are marginally called *nadī*, and preferably *ghi*. P. 7.3.118 does not deal with a substitution for *Ṅi*, but with a substitution of *ghi* stem finals before *Ṅi*, given the *auT*-substitution.

Conclusion: The traditional division of the original rule *idudbhyām aut* into P. 7.3.117, *idudbhyām*, and P. 7.3.118, *aut*, is not required.

END OF EXCURSUS

7.3.119 AC CA GHEḤ 'also, *aT* (comes in place of short *i* or *u* of a nominal base *aṅga* called) *ghi*'

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of short *a* for the final of *aṅgas* called *ghi*.

2. How to phrase the *uddeśya*? The *KV* continues *ṅer aut* from P. 7.3.116-118, and says that substitution of *aT* takes place for that *ghi* stem where *auT* comes in place of *Ṅi*. Thus, for all practical purposes, the *KV* takes the rule to mean that

aT comes in place of an *aṅga* called *ghi*, if *Ṅi* follows which is replaced by *auT*. The corresponding *uddeśya* then reads *gheḥ* (*aṅgasya ṅer audādeśe*). *Ghi* is the term used to cover short *i* or *u* as finals of non-fem. stems, with two exceptions. by P. 1.4.7. *Gheḥ* stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgasya*. The word *aṅgasya* is taken as a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. According to P. 1.1.52, we have to understand that the substitution takes place of the final of the *ghi* stem. The *vidheya* is *aT*.

P. 7.3.119 is restricted to the stems called *ghi* only. The rule does not only deal with a replacement of the sg. loc. ending *Ṅi*, but also with a replacement of the *ghi* stem finals *i* and *u*. It could be analysed as two rules, (a) *gheḥ aṅgāt ṅeḥ aut* '*auT* comes in place of *Ṅi* following after an *aṅga* called *ghi*,' and (b) *gheḥ aṅgasya aT* '*at* comes in place of an *aṅga* called *ghi*.'

What about the function of the particle *ca*? In any case, it may be taken to serve as boundary marker with the previous rule, *aut*. But, according to the interpretation of P. 7.3.119 by the *KV*, it must also be taken to indicate the joint application of the substitutions of *a* and *auT* in place of *Ṅi* in the case of *ghi* stems.

For the division of the rules P. 7.3.116-119 and the delimitation of rule domains see the Excursus under P. 7.3.118.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *agnau* 'in the fire,' *vāyau* 'in the wind,' *kṛtau* 'regarding a composition,' *dhenau* 'regarding a cow' and *patau* 'regarding the husband.'

The derivation of *agnau* is as follows:

(1) *agni* + *Ṅi* P. 4.1.2
(2) *agni* + *au* P. 7.3.118, or P. 7.3.119 (a), for which see under 2, above.
(3) *agna* + *au* P. 7.3.119
(4) *agnau* P. 6.1.88
agnau.

Similarly for the other examples.

4. Referring to *Vt*. V on the rule, the *KV* notes that the function of the *T* of *aT* is to rule out the addition of the fem. suffix *ṬāP*. See under 6, below (*Vt*. V).

5. Referring to *Vt*. IV on the rule, the *KV* says that those who read one *sūtra* in the form of *aud ac ca gheḥ* (P. 7.3.118-119) consider the *auT* -substitution for a stem ending in short *i* and for a stem ending in short *u* as *pradhānaśiṣṭa* and the *aT*-substitution as *anvācayaśiṣṭa*, both terms borrowed from Patañjali. See under 6, below (*Vt*. IV).

6. We have seven *Vts* on the rule. *Vt*. I says that a splitting of the rule regarding the *auT*-substitution should be made. Patañjali explains the resulting sequence of rules. First we have *aut* (P. 7.3.118). Then comes *ac ca gheḥ* (P. 7.3.119). Compare *Vt*. II on P. 7.3.116.

Vt. II states the reason for splitting the rule. By the new *aut* rule we can justify the sg. loc. forms *sakhau* and *patau* derived from *sakhi* and (the independent, non-cp. stem) *pati*. These two stems are mentioned as exceptions to *ghi* by P. 1.4.7 and 8 Therefore here P. 7.3.119, which deals with *ghi* stems only, is not applicable.

Vt. III removes an objection. It says that, if we have one single rule, namely, *aud ac ca gheḥ*, then there is non-applicablity (of P. 7.3.118, in *sakhau* and *patau*), because of the joint application of (*autva* and) *attva*. The point is that the *aT*-substitution for the final of *ghi* stems prescribed by P. 7.3.119 goes together with *aut*-substitution of the case ending *Ṅi* prescribed by P. 7.3.118. In that case, we cannot justify *sakhau* and *patau*, because they are exceptions to *ghi*.

Whereas by *Vt*. IV the particle *ca* in P. 7.3.119 is taken in the sense of *saṃniyoga* 'joint application', *Vt*. IV takes it in the sense of *anvācaya*. This sense of *ca* is known when two items are mentioned together in a relation of more and less importance. See *BDA*, Note (109). The stock example is *grāme bhikṣāṃ cara devadattaṃ cānaya* 'go to collect alms in the village and (incidentally, when you happen to see him) bring Devadatta also.' Here bringing Devadatta is considered as incidental to collecting alms. The two items need not be brought jointly. *Vt*. IV says: Or rather not (*saṃniyoga*), because of the statement of the *a* (in *ac ca*) as *anvācaya*, like (the use of *ca* in) P. 3.1.11. This rule prescribes two operations namely, the denominative *KyaṄ*, and the deletion of final *s* (*salopa*). of the noun stem after which *KyaṄ* is added. In his introductory *bhāṣya* on P. 3.1.11 Patañjali uses the term *pradhānaśiṣṭa* 'taught as the main thing' for *KyaṄ*, and *anvācayaśiṣṭa* 'taught as the incidental thing 'for the deletion of *s*. He also repeats the stock example. In the same way we may consider the *aT*-substitution by P. 7.3.119 as incidental to the *auT*-substitution by the same rule. The *auT*-substitittution is applied to *ghi*-stems (*agnau*, *vāyau*, and, preferably, *śakaṭau* and *dhenau*), and also to the non-*ghi* stems (*śakhau*,

patyau). But the *aT*-substitution is incidental (*ca* in *ac ca gheḥ*, in the sense of *anvācaya*), for *ghi*-stems only.

An example for the denominative *KyaN* formation by P. 3.1.11 is *śyenāyate* 'he behaves like a hawk.' The derivation is as follows:

(1)	(*śyena* + *am*)	+ *KyaṄ*			P. 3.1.11
(2)	(*śyena* + °)	+ *ya*			P. 2.4.71
(3)	*śyena*	+ *ya*		+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(4)	*śyena*	+ *ya*		+ *te*	P. 3.1.13; 3.4.78
(5)	*śyena*	+ *ya*	+ *ŚaP*	+ *te*	P. 3.1.68
(6)	*śyenā*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 7.4.25
(7)	*śyenā*	+	*ya*	+ *te*	P. 6.1.97
	śyenāyate.				

Here the question of applying the *anvācaya* part of P. 3.1.11 does not arise, because *śyena* does not end in *s*.

An example for the deletion of *s* is *payāyate* 'it behaves like water.' The derivation, similar to that of *śyenāyate* in the first five stages, is as follows:

(6)	*paya°*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 3.1.11 (*salopa*)
(7)	*payā*	+ *ya*	+ *a*	+ *te*	P. 7.4.25
(8)	*payā*	+	*ya*	+ *te*	P. 6.1.97
	payāyate.				

From the two examples it is clear that the two operations prescribed by P. 1.3.11 need not be performed jointly. They only do so, when the occasion (a noun stem ending in *s*) arises. Similarly, the rule phrased as *aud ac ca gheḥ* prescribes two operation, namely, *auT*, and *aT*. Here the operation prescribed as the main thing is *auT*, whereas the *aT*-substitution is incidental, that is, to be performed when the occasion, namely, *ghi*, arises. The *auT* operation, on the other hand, applies in non-*nadī* stems, whether *ghi* or not *ghi*. This is how the *Vārttikakāra* tries to justify the single rule *aud ac ca gheḥ*.

Vt. V says that, if *attva* 'the substitution of *aT*' is applied, a prohibition of (the fem. suffix) *ṬāP* is to be stated. Patañjali provides the examples *śakaṭau* 'on a cart,' *paddhatau* 'regarding a composition' and *dhenau* 'regarding a cow.' Compare the examples quoted for *Vt*. II on P. 7.3.117.

Śakaṭi is a fem. stem which is preferably included in *ghi* (P. 1.4.6). The derivation of the sg. loc. form with an *āP* suffix would be as follows:

(1) *sakaṭi*	+ *Ṅi*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *sakaṭa*	+ *au*	P. 7.3.118-119

At this stage, the fem. suffix *ṬāP* would be added (by P. 4.1.4) to *śakata* which ends in short *a*. The result would be:

(3) *śakaṭa* + *ṬāP*	+ *au*	P. 4.1.4
(4) *śakaṭā*	+ *au*	P. 6.1.101

At this stage, P. 7.3.113 and 116 become applicable. The result of their application would be:

(4) *śakaṭā*	+ *yāṬ*	+ *au*	P. 7.3.113
(5) *śakaṭā*	+ *yā*	+ *ām*	P. 7.3.116
(6) *śākaṭā*	+	*yām*	P. 6.1.101
śakaṭāyām.			

This is not desired. Therefore a prohibition of *ṬāP* must be phrased.

Vt. VI says, or rather (the prohibition of *ṬāP* need not be phrased) because a rule which becomes applicable due to the connection/immediate sequence of two linguistic items (like *aT* and *auT*) does not become the cause of another rule which destroys that connection. Reference is to *PN*, *pbh*. 85.

In stage (2) of the derivation of the undesired form *śakaṭāyām* stated above we encounter the immediate sequence *a* (*aT*) + *au*. This immediate sequence will be destroyed by the introduction of *ṬāP*. Here *PN*, *pbh*. 85, prohibits *ṬāP*. Therefore *Vt*. V is not required.

Vt. VII comes up with an ingenious alternative. It says, or rather, the substitute *auT* will be made *Ḍit* 'having *Ḍ* as an *it*-letter.' Patañjali explains that in that case the rule assumed by the *Vārttikakāra* will read *au ḍic ca gheḥ* '*au*, namely, (*au*) having *Ḍ* as an *it*-letter (comes) in place of *Ṅi* added to (short *i* or *u* of a nominal base *aṅga* called) *ghi*.' Reference for *Ḍit* is to P. 6.4.143 This rule says that the *ṭi*-portion of an *aṅga* is deleted before a suffix marked with *Ḍ*. Accordingly, the addition of *ḌauT* after *ghi* stems like *agni*, *vāyu*, *śakaṭi* and *dhenu* results in the deletion of the *i* and *u* called *ti*. Reading *auT* as *ḌauT* works like killing two birds

with one stone. We can directly derive the forms *agnau, vāyau, śakaṭau* and *dhenau* without postulating an *aT*-substitution. Also, there is no possibility to add the fem. suffix *ṬāP* in the derivation.

7. In summary, given the rule *aud ac ca gheḥ*, the *Vārttikakāra* proposes two different solutions for the question how to cover both *ghi* stems and the non-*ghi* stems *sakhi* and *pati*. The first solution is to split the rule. By *aut* (the present rule P. 7.3.118) we can take care of the non-*ghi* stems *sakhi* and *pati*. By *ac ca gheḥ* (the present rule P. 7.3.119) we can take care of *ghi* stems specifically. For these stems both the *auT*- and the *aT*-substitution are jointly prescribed.

The second solution is to regard *aud ac ca gheḥ* as one rule. Here the *auT*-substitution applies to non-*nadī* stems and the *aT*-substitution applies as an incidental operation to *ghi* stems.

The *KV* adopts the first solution, but mentions, presumably with disapproval, the second solution as the opinion of grammarians referred to as *kecid*.

7.3.120 ĀṄO NĀ 'STRIYĀM '*nā* (comes) in place of (the instr. case ending) *āṄ* (coming after a nominal base *aṅga* called *ghi*,) except in the fem'.

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, prescribing the substitution of *nā* for the sg. instr. case ending of *ghi* stems, on the condition stated.

2. The *uddeśya* is (*gheḥ aṅgāt*) *āṅaḥ astriyām*. The term *ghi* is defined by P. 1.4.7. *Gheḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.119. It stands in a *samānādhikaraṇa* relation with *aṅgāt*. The word *aṅgāt* is a technical abl. by P. 1.1.67. It is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 6.4.1. *ĀṄ* is the pre-pāṇinian term for the sg. instr. ending for which Pāṇini uses *Ṭā*. It was used earlier in P. 7.3.105. *Āṅaḥ* is a technical gen. by P. 1.1.49. *Astriyām* is a meaning condition stated in the loc. In the A. the word *strī* in its grammatical sense refers to the fem. gender. The *vidheya* is *nā*. It discontinues *aut ac ca* from P. 7.3.118 and 119.

3. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *agninā* 'by means of fire,' *vāyunā* 'by means of wind' and *paṭunā* 'by a clever one' (masc.).

The derivation of *agninā* is as follows:

(1) *agni* + *Ṭā* P. 4.1.2
(2) *agni* + *nā* P. 7.3.120

agninā.

Similarly for the other examples.

4. Following the *bhāṣya* on the rule, the *KV* says that the word *puṃsi* 'in the masc. gender' has not been stated. *Puṃsi* would have excluded both fem. and ntr. stems. *Astriyām*, on the other hand, allows both masc. and ntr. stems. Therefore we can justify the use of the ntr. pronominal form *amunā* in *amunā brāhmaṇakulena* 'by that brahmin family.' The (counter-)example is borrowed from Patañjali.

5. We have no *Vt*. on the rule, but there is a *bhāṣya*. Here Patañjali raises the question why *astriyām* has been stated in the rule, and why not *puṃsī*? The answer is another question, namely, if *puṃsi* is stated, how do we account for the forms *trapuṇā* 'by means of a cucumber' and *jatunā* 'by means of lac'? The answer to that question is that *trapu* and *jatu* are ntr. stems form which we derive the sg. instr. with the help of the augment *nUM* by P. 7.1.73. This rule prescribes *nUM* for a ntr. stem ending in a vowel except *a* before a case ending which begins with a vowel. Thus even if *nā* had not been prescribed by P. 7.3.120, we can manage by adding the augment *nUM* by P. 7.1.73.

Patañjali says, this is not possible, namely, in all cases. We cannot manage with *nUM* in the counterexample *amunā brāhmaṇakulena* 'by that brahmin family.' Here the pronominal form *amunā* stands in syntactic agreement with *brāhmaṇakulena*, which is a ntr. word. The derivation of *amunā* is as follows:

(1) *adas* + *Ṭā*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *adaa* + *ā*	P. 7.2.102
(3) *ada* + *ā*	P. 6.1.97
(4) *amu* + *ā*	P. 8.2.80
(5) *amu* + *nā*	P. 7.3.120
amunā.	

Why can't we manage with *nUM* here? The reason is that the *mu*-replacement in stage (4) is *asiddha* '(regarded as) not effected' from the point of view of P. 7.1.73. Therefore, as far as the application of this rule is concerned, the pronominal stem does not end in *i* or *u*, but in *a*. That rules out the *nUM*-augment.

So, how then do we account for the *nā*-replacement by P. 7.3.120? The argument goes like this. At the stage *ada* + (*Ṭ*)*ā* P. 7.1.12 becomes applicable which prescribes the substitution of *ina* for *ā*. However, this rule is overruled by the

special rule P. 8.2.80, which prescribes the substitution of *mu* for *da*. That gives us *amu* + *ā*. But P. 8.2.80 is a *tripādī* rule. Therefore it should be *asiddha* '(regarded as) not effected,' as far as the application of P. 7.1.12 is concerned. Here *Vt*. II on P. 8.2.3, which rephrases the Pāṇini-rule, comes to our help. The *Vt*. reads *na mu ṭādeśe* ' the *mu*-substitution (taught by P. 8.2.80) is not *asiddha*, when the question is of replacing the sg. instr. ending *Ṭā* ' That removes P. 7.1.12.

Now we come to the *nā*-substitution by P. 7.3.120 which requires a stem in short *i* or *u*. Here also the *mu*-replacement by P. 8.2.80 is *asiddha* with regard to the application of P. 7.3.120. To remove this difficulty, Patañjali refers to the *Vt*. II on P. 8.2.3. That is how we finally derive the form *amunā*.

However, if P. 7.3.120 had read *puṃsi*, instead of *astriyām*, we could not have the *nā*-replacement for the pronoun *adas* used in the neuter, even if the *mu*-substitution is *siddha*. The reason is that by reading *puṃsi* in the rule this replacement becomes restricted to the masc. only.

6. The present rule closes the sub-section starting from P. 7.3.116.

INDEX OF WORDS

Expressions consisting of Sanskrit and English words have been listed according to the first word in either the Sanskrit or in the English Index. Numbers refer to pages of the main text. The Introduction with the summary of the rules has not been included. The Sanskrit Index follows the Sanskrit syllabary.

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